READINGS IN ENGLISH SOCIAL HISTORY

VOLUME THREE
1485 - 1603

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READINGS IN SOCIAL HISTORY

VOLUME THREE

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

C. F. CLAY, MANAGER

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READINGS
IN
ENGLISH SOCIAL HISTORY
FROM
CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE

VOLUME THREE

1485—1603

35377 ac

EDITED BY

R. B. MORGAN, M.LITT.

INSPECTOR OF SCHOOLS TO THE CROYDON EDUCATION COMMITTEE
AUTHOR OF
A New English Grammar, The Groundwork of English
ETC.

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T. L. C.

TO

DULCIE

PREFACE

It is a truism that every great political upheaval is followed by a keener and livelier interest on the part of statesmen and the people generally in the social and industrial questions that, phœnix-like, arise and demand settlement.

The upheaval caused by the war has focussed the attention of the country upon the necessity for improving the social conditions of the people; and for many years to come legislation in the main will have to deal with the betterment of the conditions of life in its broadest and fullest aspect.

A glimpse at the social conditions of the inhabitants of this country in the past will be a help towards the better understanding of what has gone to make "this little world . . . set in the silver sea" the cradle of a race of shopkeepers (as Napoleon dubbed us), and warriors, as we have proved ourselves to be.

In these little volumes the editor has endeavoured to select from contemporary writers pen-pictures of the country and its inhabitants throughout the centuries: their mode of life; their food and clothing; their games and recreations; their feastings and their burials; their methods of fighting on land and sea; their laws and customs; their education; their instincts for trade; their pageants and their music; their joys and their sorrows; in fact, all that goes to make what we call "life."

In order to tempt his readers to explore for themselves the sources from which the extracts are taken, the editor has, where possible, chosen his selections from such editions of authorities as can be found in any modern reference

library, and to that end, the source of each extract is defined in detail. In this connection the editor is under a debt of gratitude to Mr G. Berwick Sayers, the chief librarian of Croydon's splendidly equipped public library, for his expert advice and assistance; and to him and his staff sincere thanks are due.

To Mr Walter Blackie, at whose suggestion the work was, in the first place, undertaken, the editor offers his thanks.

The illustrations have been selected by Mr S. C. Roberts, of Pembroke College, Cambridge, to whom the editor is greatly indebted for his generous co-operation.

R. B. M.

10 Wellesley Grove,
Croydon,
May 1921.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

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THE GUILDHALL, EXETER 10

Built in 1464 on the site of a much older building. The pillared façade, in the Renaissance style, was added in 1593.

Photograph by Frith & Co.

CARDINAL WOLSEY AND HIS SUITE IN PROGRESS . 11

This drawing, the original of which illustrates a manuscript copy of Cavendish's *Life* made in 1578, is reproduced from Singer's edition (1825). Cavendish describes how Wolsey "rode very sumptuously, on a mule trapped with crimson velvet upon velvet, and his stirrups of copper and gilt. . . . Before him he had his great crosses of silver, two great pillars of silver, the great seal of England, his cardinal's hat, and a gentleman that carried his valaunce, otherwise called a cloak bag. . . . Thus passed he through London and all the way of his journey."

TITLE-PAGE OF THE GREAT BIBLE, 1539 . . 26

This is the bible referred to in Cromwell's injunctions and was the first to be placed openly in an English church for any man to read who could. On the title-page the King is seen handing the Word of God to the bishops and clergy on the one hand, and to Cromwell and the people on the other.

John Brown, *The History of the English Bible.*

DIVERSITIES OF EXERCISE 27

These pictures are from the *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* (a "nomenclature and pictures of all the chief things that are in the world and of men's employments therein") of John Amos Comenius, a famous educational reformer of the seventeenth century. The book was first published in 1657 and was translated into English "for the use of young Latin Scholars" by Charles Hoole.

The first picture is of a tennis-court, in which "they play with a Ball, which one throweth and another taketh, and sendeth it back with a Racket, and that is the sport of

FACING PAGE

Noblemen to stir their Body." The second shows various races: "Boys exercise themselves," says the text, "in running either upon the ice . . . where they are carried also upon sleds, or in the open Field. . . . Heretofore Runners ran betwixt Rails to the Goal. . . . At this day Tilting (or the Quintain) is used . . ., instead of Horse-races which are grown out of use."

QUEEN ELIZABETH DANCING WITH THE EARL OF LEICESTER 38

A portion of the famous picture at Penshurst Place, illustrating the queen's delight in dancing.

Photograph by Eagleton & Son, Penshurst.

A GROUP OF SMOKERS 39

The upper portion of this picture, which is taken from the frontispiece to Brathwayt's *The Smoaking Age* (1617), shows a convivial party engaged in the enjoyment of tobacco, the introduction of which is referred to on page 44.

In the lower portion one of the party appears to be dancing to the tune of the bagpipe.

BRASS OF ALICE WADE, 1599 56

This brass, in Bidleston Church, Suffolk, shows the slashed sleeves, the large ruff round the neck, the farthingale and the embroidered petticoat characteristic of the period

From J. S. M. Ward, *Brasses.*

LEICESTER HOSPITAL, WARWICK 57

HATFIELD HOUSE 57

The first picture shows a typical half-timbered house, originally the hall of a guild and converted by Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, into a hospital for twelve poor men and a master. The date of Leicester's foundation (1571) is seen over the gateway.

Hatfield House does not strictly belong to the reign of Elizabeth, having been built between 1605 and 1611 by the first Earl of Salisbury. It may, however, be regarded as characteristic of the many great mansions founded by Tudor families.

Elizabeth was living in confinement at the old Hatfield Palace, of which some part still remains, when the news of her accession was brought to her.

Photographs by Frith & Co. and the Homeland Association, Ltd.

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BRASS OF JOHN WINGFIELD, 1584 74

In spite of the use of gunpowder, the use of armour continued throughout the reign of Elizabeth (see page 69). The illustration, which is from a brass in Easton Church, Suffolk, shows the full suit of plate-armour, with cuirass for the body, greaves and knee-caps for the legs, and sollerets for the feet.

From J. S. M. Ward, *Brasses.*

CAMBRIDGE IN 1592 75

The illustration shows a portion of Hamond's Map of 1592. The chapel of King's College, of which the fabric was finished in 1515, stands out prominently and several colleges are clearly shown. The market cross was destroyed in 1786.

From Atkinson & Clark, *Cambridge* (by permission of Messrs Macmillan & Co. and Messrs Bowes & Bowes).

HUNTING IN ELIZABETH'S TIME 84

These pictures illustrate the deer-hunting described on page 82. They are taken from Turbervile's *The Noble Arte of Venerie or Hunting* (1567), a book which deals with the "Vertues, Nature, and Properties of fivetene sundrie chaces together, with the order and maner how to Hunte and Kill every one of them."

A PAGE FROM *THE FRIAR AND THE BOY* . . 85

This shows the first page of a ballad the popularity of which lasted till the nineteenth century. It is taken from a facsimile of the edition printed by Wynkyn de Worde about 1510.

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE 110

The illustration is of the title-page of the first folio edition of the *Plays* (1623), the portrait being engraved by Martin Droeshout. Ben Jonson's description of it, quoted on page 109, was printed opposite the title-page.

THE GLOBE THEATRE 111

This is a portion of Hollar's *View of London* (1647), showing the Bear-baiting house (see page 83) and the Globe Theatre on the south bank of the Thames. The latter building (so-called from its sign of Atlas supporting the Globe) was erected in 1599.

READINGS IN SOCIAL HISTORY

ENGLAND UNDER THE TUDORS

1. SOME PROVERBS FROM TUDOR TIMES [*circa* 1486].

SOURCE: Wm. Camden, *Remains concerning Britain.*

A BOW long bent at last waxeth weak.
A curr will bite before he bark.
A grunting horse and a groaning wife never fails their Master.
Age and wedlock tames man and beast.
A leg of a lark is better than the body of a kyte.
An ill cook cannot lick his own fingers.
An inch in a miss is as good as an ell.
Batchelers wives and maids' children be well taught.
Better one bird in the hand than ten in the wood.
Beware the geese when the Fox preaches.
Children and chickens are always feeding.
Dinners cannot be long where dainties want.
Every man cannot hit the nail on the head.
Few Lawyers dye well: Few physicians live well.
Foul water as soon as fair will quench hot fire.
God sends meat, the devil sends Cooks.
He that will have a Hare to breakfast must hunt over night.
He that winketh with one eye, and looketh with the other,
I will not trust him though he were my brother.
Jack would be a gentleman if he could speak French.
Ill putting a naked sword in a mad man's hand.
It is merry in hall when beards wag all.

Kissing goes by favour.
Like the Flounder, out of the frying-pan into the fire.
Many kiss the child for the Nurse's sake.
Many stumble at a straw, and leap over a block.
Need hath no law.
Of a ragged colt cometh a good horse.
One ill weed marreth a whole pot of pottage.
Old men and far travellers may lie by authority.
Puff not against the wind.
Pouring oyl into the fire is not the way to quench it.
Remove an old tree, and it will dye.
Saying and doing are two things.
Somewhat is better than nothing.
Speak fair, and think what you will.
The Crow thinketh her own birds fairest.
The more thy Years, the nigher thy Grave's.
Three may keep counsel if two be away.
When the head aketh all the body is the worse.
Who is worse shod than the Shoemaker's wife ?
You are as seasonable as Snow in Summer.
Young men may die, but old must die.

2. THE REVENUES OF HENRY VII. [*circa* 1498]

SOURCE: *A Relation, or rather a true Account, of the Island of England; with sundry particulars of the Customs of these people and of the royal Revenues under King Henry the Seventh, about the year* 1500. Translated from the Italian by C. A. Sneyd. Camden Society, 1847.

From the time of William the Conqueror to the present no king has reigned more peaceably than he [Henry VII] has, his great prudence causing him to be universally feared; and though frugal to excess in his own person, he does not change any of the ancient usages of England at his court, keeping a sumptuous table, as I had the opportunity of witnessing twice that your Magnificence dined there, when

I judged that there might be from 600 to 700 persons at dinner. And his people say that his Majesty spends upon his table £14,000 sterling annually, which is equal to 70,000 crowns. And it is possible that his own personal expenses, those of the queen and of his children, and the military escort who compose his guard, and are from 150 to 200 in number, besides the many civilities that he pays to foreigners, may amount to £20,000 sterling, as it is said they do. And, although this appears a large sum, it forms a very small item in the revenue of the crown which I understand to be as follows :

Eighty thousand marks was the sum appointed in days of yore for the King's maintenance [about 240,000 crowns].

For the maintenance of the Queen, 10,000 marks were allotted [30,000 crowns].

For the King's eldest son, *i.e.* the Prince of Wales, 20,000 crowns.

Therefore the ordinary income for the maintenance of the King, Queen and Prince, amounts to 290,000 crowns. . . . To this income of 290,000 crowns, another ordinary one is added, of this kind :—when any princes of the realm die without leaving heirs, their military services revert *ipso facto* to the crown ; thus, it receives the revenues the Duke of Lancaster possessed, and they are entered into the royal chamber, called the Exchequer, which revenues amount to a third of the sum allotted to the Crown, which would be 80,000 crowns.

It also takes the income of the Duke of York, which is . . . 75,000 crowns.

These two immense incomes are not to be wondered at, because those princes were Kings' sons, and their fathers, though they could not dismember the kingdom, chose that their younger sons should have wherewithal to live according to their rank.

The Duchy of Clarence has also reverted to the crown, which was worth . . . 36,000 crowns.

That of Somerset valued at . . . 24,000 crowns.

Also that of Gloucester, valued at . . . 18,000 crowns.

That of Exeter worth . . . 15,000 crowns.

The Duchy of Bedford, worth 9,000 crowns. . . .

These form an income of 547,000 crowns.

The English do not reckon their gabel, which they call *customs*, in the ordinary income. These were originally levied for the supply of the crown, a duty of threepence being paid on every twenty shillings' worth of merchandise that came in or went out of the kingdom. Subsequently, to enable the King to keep the coast free from pirates, this duty was raised from three to fifteen pence. And this gabel or custom produces on an average £20,000 sterling, on 100,000 crowns annually.

In this custom is not included the duty upon wools, which are carried into Europe by sea, and pay the third of their value to the King. This very heavy tax was imposed in order to prevent the raw material being carried out of the country, and to encourage the home manufacture of cloth. This brings in about £40,000 sterling or 200,000 crowns.

All these then, united, form an income of 847,000 crowns.

There is also another duty upon the wools which are taken to Calais, and from thence sent out into Europe by land. This duty is called by these people *the Staple*. But all the proceeds of the said woolstaple are assigned to the maintenance of the guard at Calais and Berwick; and are therefore not included in the revenue.

The King need never be in want of more money still, should he require it, for, whenever any of his feudatories die, leaving their children minors, he takes the charge of the said children till they are of age, keeping in the mean-

time all the profits of their estates for his own use. And, should the wife of any such feudatory remain a widow without children, his Majesty inherits everything; because, according to the custom of the country, no one can marry again without the royal permission, and, to shorten matters, when they wish to obtain such a permission, they pay a large sum of money; and I understand that his Majesty makes more than 50,000 crowns per annum by the widows and wards.

It is no inconsiderable sum either that he obtains from cathedral churches, monasteries and other benefices, whose revenues are enjoyed by the crown during vacancy, for which reason such vacancies are not very speedily filled up.

And if the abbeys founded by the crown do not actually pay money to the King, they are obliged to defray the expenses of one, two, or three gentlemen, and as many horses, with their keep, at the pleasure of his Majesty. Because whenever the King wishes to bestow an easy life upon one of the servants, he makes some one of these monasteries pay his expenses. . . .

If the king should go to war, he does not content himself with his ordinary income, but he immediately compels the clergy to pay him one, two, or three fifteenths, or tenths, as is the custom with us, or more, if the urgency of the war should require it.

One fifteenth is worth £12,000 sterling. . . . And if it should be a case of glory, or necessity, such as a war with France or Scotland would be, on the requisition of so wise a king as Henry the Seventh, the three estates before named would always agree to give him one, two, or three fifteenths, and a fifteenth of the three estates is worth £37,930 sterling. . . .

Although the crown has many offices in its gift, both for the service of the public and for the royal household, yet

there are some which receive pay from the King, and others which do not; such as the Constable, who is the Commander-in-Chief of the royal army, and the Marshal, who is at the head of the artillery, the Admiral of the sea, the great Steward of the household, and the Chamberlain; of the other class, which comprises the more useful offices, are the High Chancellor, who is the superintendent of all the justice of the kingdom (the receipts of this office not only suffice for the wants and remuneration of its possessor, but to pay all the other legal officers besides); also the President of the Council, the Privy Seal, the Master of Requests, and many others of a like nature, which are all given by the King for life.

3. AN ITALIAN VIEW OF ENGLISH LIFE [1500]

SOURCE: As No. 2.

The English are, for the most part, both men and women of all ages, handsome and well-proportioned; though not quite so much so, in my opinion, as it had been asserted to me, before your Magnificence went to that Kingdom; and I have understood from persons acquainted with these countries that the Scotch are much handsomer; and that the English are great lovers of themselves, and of everything belonging to them; they think that there are no other men than themselves, and no other world but England; and whenever they see a handsome foreigner, they say that "he looks like an Englishman," and that "it is a great pity that he should not be an Englishman"; and when they partake of any delicacy with a foreigner, they ask him "whether such a thing is made in *their* country?" They take pleasure in having a quantity of excellent victuals, and also in remaining a long time at table, being very sparing of wine when they drink it at their own expense. And this, it is said, they do in order to induce their other

English guests to drink wine in moderation also; not considering it any inconvenience for three or four persons to drink out of the same cup. Few people keep wine in their own houses, but buy it for the most part at a tavern; and when they mean to drink a great deal, they go to the tavern, and this is done not only by the men, but by ladies of distinction. The deficiency of wine, however, is amply supplied by the abundance of ale and beer, to the use of which these people are become so habituated, that, at an entertainment where there is plenty of wine, they will drink them in preference to it, and in great quantities. Like discreet people, however, they do not offer them to Italians, unless they should ask for them; and they think that no greater honour can be conferred or received, than to invite others to eat with them, or to be invited themselves; and they would sooner give five or six ducats to provide an entertainment for a person, than a groat to assist him in any distress.

They all from time immemorial wear very fine clothes, and are extremely polite in their language; which, although it is, as well as the Flemish, derived from the German, has lost its natural harshness, and is pleasing enough as they pronounce it. In addition to their civil speeches, they have the incredible courtesy of remaining with their heads uncovered with an admirable grace, whilst they talk to each other. They are gifted with good understandings, and are very quick at everything they apply their minds to; few, however, excepting the clergy, are addicted to the study of letters; and this is the reason why any one who has learning, though he may be a layman, is called by them *a Clerk*. And yet they have great advantages for study, there being two general Universities in the kingdom, Oxford and Cambridge; in which are many colleges founded for the maintenance of poor scholars. And your Magnificence lodged at one named Magdalen, in the University of Oxford,

of which the founders having been prelates, so the scholars are also ecclesiastics.

The common people apply themselves to trade, or to fishing, or else they practise navigation; and they are so diligent in mercantile pursuits that they do not fear to make contracts on usury.

Although they all attend Mass every day and say many Paternosters in public (the women carrying long rosaries in their hands, and any who can read taking the office of our Lady with them, and with some companion reciting it in the church verse by verse, in a low voice, after the manner of churchmen), they always hear mass on Sunday in their parish church, and give liberal alms because they may not offer less than a piece of money, of which fourteen are equivalent to a golden ducat; nor do they omit any form incumbent upon good Christians; there are, however, many who have various opinions concerning religion.

They have a very high reputation in arms; and from the great fear the French entertain of them, one must believe it to be justly acquired. But I have it on the best information, that when war is raging most furiously, they will seek for good eating, and all their other comforts, without thinking of what harm might befal them.

They have an antipathy to foreigners, and imagine that they never come into their island but to make themselves masters of it, and to usurp their goods; neither have they any sincere and solid friendships amongst themselves, insomuch that they do not trust each other to discuss either public or private affairs together in the confidential manner we do in Italy. And although their dispositions are somewhat licentious, I never have noticed any one, either at court or among the lower orders, to be in love; whence one must necessarily conclude, either that the English are the most discreet lovers in the world, or that they are incapable of love. I say this of the men, for I understand

it is quite the contrary with the women, who are very violent in their passions. Howbeit the English keep a very jealous guard over their wives, though anything may be compensated in the end by the power of money.

The want of affection in the English is strongly manifested towards their children; for after having kept them at home till they arrive at the age of seven or nine years at the utmost, they put them out, both males and females, to hard service in the houses of other people, binding them generally for another seven or nine years. And these are called apprentices, and during that time they perform all the most menial offices; and few are born who are exempted from this fate, for every one, however rich he may be, sends away his children into the houses of others, whilst he, in return, receives those of strangers into his own.

And on enquiring their reason for this severity, they answered that they did it in order that their children might learn better manners. But I, for my part, believe that they do it because they like to enjoy all their comforts themselves, and that they are better served by strangers than they would be by their own children. Besides which the English, being great epicures and very avaricious by nature, indulge in the most delicate fare themselves and give their household the coarsest bread and beer, and cold meat baked on Sunday for the week, which, however, they allow them in great abundance. That if they had their own children at home, they would be obliged to give them the same food they made use of for themselves. That if the English sent their children away from home to learn virtue and good manners, and took them back again when their apprenticeship was over, they might perhaps be excused; but they never return, for the girls are settled by their patrons, and the boys make the best marriages they can, and assisted by their patrons, not by their fathers, they also open a house and strive diligently

by this means to make some future for themselves; whence it proceeds that, having no hope of their paternal inheritance, they all become so greedy of gain that they feel no shame in asking, almost "for the love of God," for the smallest sums of money; and to this it may be attributed, that there is no injury that can be committed against the lower orders of the English that may not be atoned for by money.

Nevertheless, the apprentices for the most part make good fortunes, some by one means, and some by another, but above all, those who happen to be in the good grace of the mistress of the house in which they are domiciliated at the time of the death of the master; because, by the ancient custom of the country, every inheritance is divided into three parts; for the Church and funeral expenses, for the wife, and for the children. . . .

4. THE FURNITURE OF THE GILD HALL AT EXETER [1504]

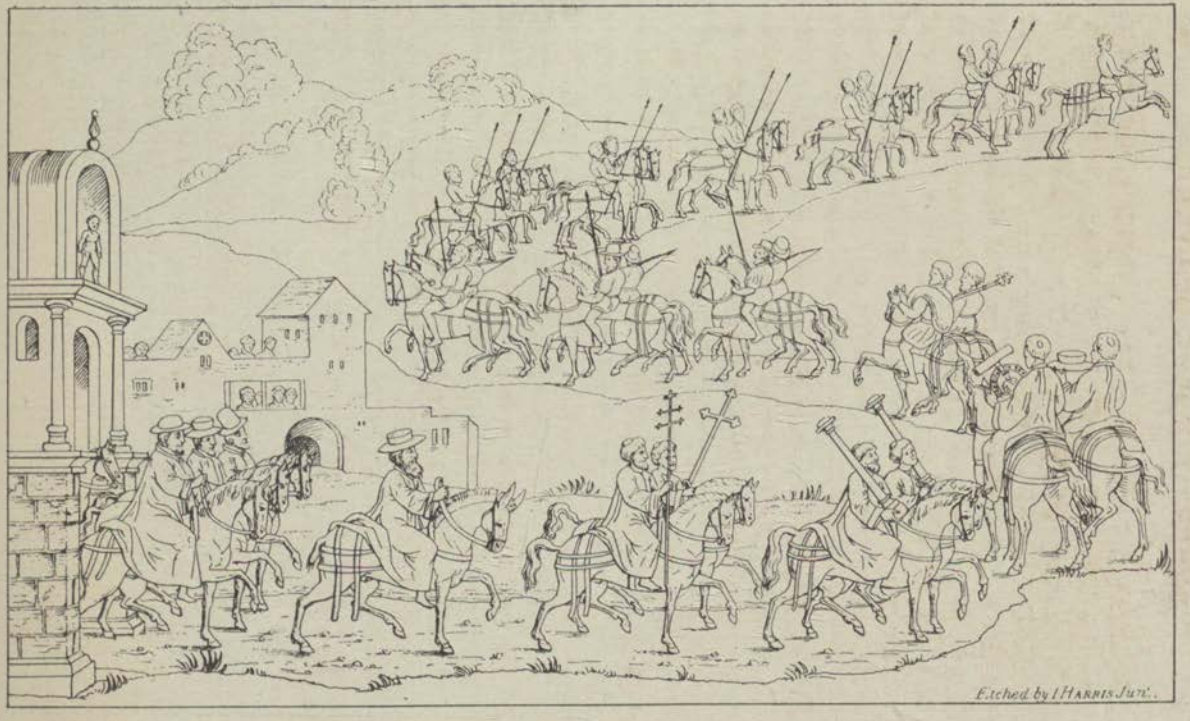
SOURCE: *The Original Ordinances of Early English Gilds.* Ed. Toulmin Smith. Spelling modernised.

Goods in the Gild Hall, 20 H. VII.

Here followeth the implements of the Taylour's Hall, being within the place in the year being Master of the occupation Richard Chubb, in the XXth year of Henry VII. of Exeter.

To be noted, that there remaineth, first in the hall, a painted cloth on the high dais; two little benches by every side, one by the chimney, one nailed to the wall; a plank table, with two tressels, at the high dais; a table in the side of the hall, and a form; a bench in the inside of the table; also, in the parlour, a bedstead; also, in the spence [buttery], a table plank and two shelves; also, in the chamber next to the hall, a long coffer without locks or keys, and a bedstead: also a brass pot, a platter of pewters, four quarters of a violet gown for a woman, a brooch . . .

The Guildhall, Exeter



Cardinal Wolsey and his suite in progress

two new torches but little burnt, and four ends of torches; a streamer and a banner, a box with four evidence [deeds] with three other writings: and a seal of silver of the brotherhood.

5. THE OATH ADMINISTERED TO A GILD APPRENTICE [1504]

SOURCE: *Records of the Mercers' Company.*

"Ye shall swear that ye shall be true unto our liege lord, the King, and to his heirs, Kings. Also ye shall swear that well and truly to your power ye shall serve your Master during the term of your apprenticeship. And ye shall hold and form the covenants in your indenture of apprenticeship contained. Also ye shall hold stedfastly, secretly and for counsel all and every the lawful ordinances, whatsoever they be, to the Craft or occupation of the Mercery belonging, and, as much as in you is, every of them, ye shall observe, hold and keep, and not to break, discover, open or shew any of them to any person, but unto such as unto the fellowship of the Mercery is here according to this oath sworn. And that ye shall not depart out and from the said fellowship for to serve, not to be accompanied with any manner of person of any other company, fellowship, occupation or craft, whereby any prejudice, hurt, or harm may grow or be unto the fellowship of the Mercery or any of the secrets thereof thereby to be discovered or known. So help you God, and all Saints, and by this Book."

6. WOLSEY'S PRINCELY HOUSEHOLD [1515]

SOURCE: Cavendish, *Life of Wolsey.* Ed. Singer (1825).

Now to speak of the order of his (Wolsey's) house and officers, I think it necessary here to be remembered. First ye shall understand, that he had in his hall, daily, three special tables furnished with three principal officers; that is to say, a steward, which was always a dean or a priest;

a treasurer, a knight; and a comptroller, an esquire; which bare always within his house their white staves. Then he had a cofferer, three marshals, two yeomen ushers, two grooms, and an almoner. He had in the hall kitchen, two clerks of his kitchen, a clerk comptroller, a surveyor of the dresser, a clerk of his spicery. Also there in his hall kitchen he had two master cooks, and twelve other labourers, and children as they called them; a yeoman of his scullery, and two other in his silver scullery: two yeomen of his pantry and two grooms. Now in his privy kitchen he had a master cook, who went daily in damask satin, or velvet, with a chain of gold about his neck; and two grooms, with six labourers and children to serve in that place; in the larder there, a yeoman and a groom; in the scalding house, a yeoman and two grooms; in the scullery there two persons; in the buttery, two yeomen and two grooms, with two other pages; in the pantry, two yeomen, two grooms, and two other pages; and in the ewery likewise; in the cellar, three yeomen, two grooms, and two pages; beside a gentleman for the month; in the chaundery, three persons; in the wafery, two; in the wardrobe of beds, the master of the wardrobe and ten other persons; in the laundry, a yeoman, a groom and three pages; of purveyors, two and one groom; in the bakehouse, a yeoman and two grooms; in the wood-yard, a yeoman and a groom; in the garner, one; in the garden, a yeoman and two labourers. Now at the gate, he had of porters, two tall yeomen and two grooms; a yeoman of his barge; in the stable he had a master of his horse, a clerk of the stable, a yeoman of the same; a saddler, a farrier, a yeoman of his chariot, a sumpter-man, a yeoman of his stirrup; a muleteer; sixteen grooms of his stable, everyone of them keeping four great geldings: in the almeseria, a yeoman and a groom.

Now I will declare unto you the officers of his chapel and singing men of the same. First, he had there a dean,

who was always a great clerk and a divine; a sub-dean; a repeater of the quire; a gospeller, a pisteller; and twelve singing priests; of scholars he had first, a master of the children, twelve singing children, sixteen singing men, with a servant to attend upon the said children.

In the revestry, a yeoman and two grooms: then were there divers retainers of cunning singing men, that came thither at divers sundry principal feasts. But to speak of the furniture of his chapel passeth my capacity to declare the number of the costly ornaments and rich jewels that were occupied in the same continually. For I have seen there, in a procession, worn forty-four copes of one suit, very rich, besides the sumptuous crosses, candlesticks, and other necessary ornaments to the comely furniture of the same. Now shall ye understand that he had two cross bearers, and two pillar bearers: and in his chamber, all these persons; that is to say: his high chamberlain, his vice-chamberlain; twelve gentlemen ushers, daily waiters; besides two in his privy chamber; and of the gentlemen waiters in his privy chamber he had six; and also he had of lords nine or ten, who had each of them allowed two servants; and the Earl of Derby had allowed five men. Then had he of gentlemen, as cupbearers, carvers, servers, and gentlemen daily waiters, forty persons; of yeomen ushers he had six; of grooms in his chamber he had eight; of yeomen of his chamber he had forty-six daily to attend upon his person; he had also a priest there which was his almoner, to attend upon his table at dinner. Of doctors and chaplains attending in his closet to say daily mass before him, he had sixteen persons; and a clerk of his closet. Also he had two secretaries, and two clerks of his signet; and four counsellors learned in the laws of the realm.

And for as much as he was Chancellor of England, it was necessary for him to have divers officers of the chancery

to attend daily upon him, for the better furniture of the same. That is to say; first, he had the clerk of the crown, a riding clerk, a clerk of the hanaper, a chafer of wax. Then he had a clerk of the check as well to check his chaplains, as his yeomen of the chamber; he had also four footmen, which were apparrelled in rich running coats, whensoever he rode any journey. Then he had a herald at arms, and a sergeant at arms; a physician; an apothecary; four minstrels; a keeper of his tents, an armourer; an instructor of his wards; two yeomen in his wardrobe; and a keeper of his chamber in the court. He had also daily in his house the surveyor of York, a clerk of the green cloth; and an auditor. All this number of persons were daily attendant upon him in his house, down-lying and uprising.

And at meals there was continually in his chamber a board kept for his chamberlain and gentlemen ushers, having with them a mess of the young lords and another for gentlemen. Besides all these, there was never an officer and gentleman, or any other worthy person in his house, but he was allowed some three, some two servants; and all other one at the least; which amounted to a great number of persons.

. . . Therefore here I make an end of his household; whereof the number was about the sum of five hundred persons according to his checker roll.

7. HOW WOLSEY ENTERTAINED THE KING [1516]

SOURCE: As No. 6.

And when it pleased the king's majesty, for his recreation, to repair unto the cardinal's house, as he did divers times in the year, at which time there wanted no preparations, or goodly furniture, with viands of the finest sort that might be provided for money or friendship. Such pleasures were then devised for the king's comfort and consolation

as might be invented, or by man's wit imagined. The banquets were set forth, with masks and mummeries, in so gorgeous a sort, and costly manner, that it was a heaven to behold. There wanted no dames, or damsels, meet or apt to dance with the maskers, or to garnish the place for a time, with other goodly disports. Then there was all kind of music and harmony set forth with excellent voices both of men and children. I have seen the king suddenly come in thither in a mask, with a dozen other maskers, all in garments like shepherds, made of fine cloth of gold and fine crimson satin paned, and caps of the same, with visors of good proportion of visnomy; their hairs and beards, either of fine gold wire, or else of silver, and some being of black silk; having sixteen torch bearers, besides their drums, and other persons attending upon them, with visors, and clothed all in satin of the same colours. And at his coming, and before he came into the hall, ye shall understand, that he came by water to the water gate, without any noise; where against his coming were laid charged many chambers, and at his landing they were all shot off, which made such a rumble in the air, that it was like thunder. It made all the noblemen, ladies and gentlemen, to muse what it should mean coming so suddenly, they sitting quietly at a solemn banquet; under this sort: first, ye shall perceive that the tables were set in the chamber of presence, banquet-wise covered, my Lord Cardinal sitting under the cloth of estate, and there having his service all alone; and then was there set a lady and a nobleman, or a gentleman and gentlewoman, throughout all the tables in the chamber on the one side, which were made and joined as it were but one table. All which order and device was done and devised by the Lord Sands, Lord Chamberlain to the king; and also by Sir Henry Guilford, Comptroller to the king. Then immediately after this great shot of guns, the cardinal desired the Lord Chamberlain, and Comptroller, to look what

this sudden shot should mean, as though he knew nothing of the matter. They thereupon looking out of the windows into the Thames, returned again, and showed him, that it seemed to them there should be some noblemen and strangers arrived at his bridge, as ambassadors from some foreign prince. With that, quoth the cardinal, "I shall desire you, because ye can speak French, to take the pains to go down into the hall to encounter and to receive them, according to their estates, and to conduct them into this chamber, where they shall see us, and all these noble personages sitting merrily at our banquet, desiring them to sit down with us, and to take part of our fare and pastime." Then they went incontinent down into the hall, where they received them with twenty new torches, and conveyed them up into the chamber, . . . two and two together, they went directly before the cardinal where he sat, saluting him very reverently; to whom the Lord Chamberlain for them said: "Sir, for as much as they be strangers, and can speak no English, they have desired me to declare unto your grace thus: they, having understanding of this your triumphant banquet, where was assembled such a number of excellent fair dames, could do no less, under the supportation of your good grace, but to repair hither to view as well their incomparable beauty, as for to accompany them at mumchance, and then after to dance with them, and so to have of them acquaintance. And, sir, they furthermore require of your Grace licence to accomplish the cause of their repair." To whom the cardinal answered, that he was very well contented they should so do. Then the maskers went first and saluted all the dames as they sat, and then returned to the most worthiest, and there opened a cup full of gold, with crowns and other pieces of coin, to whom they set divers pieces to cast at. Thus in this manner perusing all the ladies and gentlewomen, and to some they lost, and of some they won. And thus done, they returned unto the

cardinal, with great reverence, pouring down all the crowns in the cup, which was about two hundred crowns. "At all," quoth the cardinal, and so cast the dice, and won them all at a cast; whereat was great joy made. Then quoth the cardinal to my Lord Chamberlain, "I pray you," quoth he, "show them that it seemeth me that there should be among them some noble man, whom I suppose to be much more worthy of honour to sit and occupy this room and place than I; to whom I would most gladly, if I knew him, surrender my place according to my duty." Then spake my Lord Chamberlain unto them in French, declaring my Lord Cardinal's mind, and they rounding him again in the ear, my Lord Chamberlain said to my Lord Cardinal, "Sir, they confess," quoth he, "that among them there is such a noble personage, whom, if your grace can appoint him from the other, he is contented to disclose himself, and to accept your place most worthily." With that the cardinal, taking a good advisement among them, at the last, quoth he, "Me seemeth the gentlemen with the black beard should be even he." And with that he arose out of his chair, and offered the same to the gentleman in the black beard, with his cap in his hand. The person to whom he offered then his chair was Sir Edward Neville, a comely knight of a goodly personage, that much more resembled the king's person in that mask, than any other. The king, hearing and perceiving the cardinal so deceived in his estimate and choice, could not forbear laughing, but plucked down his visor, and Master Neville's also, and dashed out with such a pleasant countenance and cheer, that all noble estates there assembled, seeing the king to be there amongst them, rejoiced very much. The cardinal eftsoons desired his highness to take the place of estate, to whom the king answered, that he would go first and shift his apparel; and so departed, and went straight into my lord's bedchamber, where was a great fire made and prepared

for him; and there new apparelled him with rich and princely garments. And in the time of the king's absence, the dishes of the banquet were clean taken up, and the tables spread again with new and sweet perfumed cloth; every man sitting still until the king and his maskers came in among them again, every man being newly apparelled. Then the king took his seat under the cloth of estate, commanding no man to remove, but sit still, as they did before. Then in came a new banquet before the king's majesty, and to all the rest through the tables, wherein, I suppose, were served two hundred dishes or above of wondrous costly meats and devices, subtilly devised. Thus passed they forth the whole night with banqueting, dancing, and other triumphant devices, to the great comfort of the king, and pleasant regard of the nobility there assembled.

All this matter I have declared at large, because ye shall understand what joy and delight the cardinal had to see his prince and sovereign lord in his house so nobly entertained and pleased, which was always his only study, to devise things to his comfort, not passing of the charge or expenses. It delighted him so much to have the king's pleasant princely presence, that no thing was to him more delectable than to cheer his sovereign lord, to whom he owed so much obedience and loyalty; as reason required no less, all things well considered.

8. AN ETON BOY'S DAY IN 1530

SOURCE: An account written by the then Headmaster of Eton, and quoted in Leach, *Educational Charters and Documents.*

This ys the order of the same schole (Eton) usyd by me Richard cox, scholemaster.

They come to schole at vj of the Clok in ye mornyng; they say Deus misereatur with a Colecte; at ix they say de profundis and go to brekefaste. With in a quarter of an

howre cum ageyne and tary [until] xi and then to dyner, at v to soper, afore an Antheme and De profundis.

Two prepositors in every forme, whiche doth give in a schrowe [scroll] the absents Namys at any lecture and shewith when and at what tyme, both in the fore none for the tyme paste, and at v.

Also ij prepositors in the body of the Chirche, ij in the qwere, ffor spekyng of Laten in the thred forme and all other, every one a custos and in every howse a monytor.

Whan they go home ij and ij in order, a monitor to se that they do soe tyll they come at there hostise dore.

Also prevy monytors how many the Mr wylle.

Prepositors in the feld whan they play, for fyghtyng, rent clothes, blew eyes, or siche like.

Prepositors for yll kept hedys, unwasshid facys, fowle clothis and sich other.

Yff there be iiij or v in a howse, monytors for chydyng and for latyn spekyng.

When any dothe come newe, the master doth inquire fro whens he comyth, what frendys he hathe, whether there be any plage, No man gothe owte off the schole, nother home to his frends, with owt ye masters lycence. Yff there be any dullard the Mr gyvith his frends warnyng and puttyth hym away, that he sclander not the schole.

9. THE SUPPRESSION OF THE MONASTERIES [A.D. 1534–38]

SOURCE: Wright, *Letters relating to the suppression of the Monasteries.* Spelling modernised. Camden Society.

(a) *The "Visions" of the Holy Maid of Kent.*[1]

[A Letter to Secretary Cromwell.]

. . First, of an angel that appeared and bade the nun go unto the king, that infidel prince of England, and say that

[1] Elizabeth Barton, originally a servant, and subject to strange epileptic fits, was chosen as an instrument of deception by certain monks, and was

I command him to amend his life, and that he leave three things which he loveth and purposeth upon: that is, that he take none of the Pope's right nor patrimony from him; the second, that he destroy all these new folks of opinion and the works of their new learning; the third, that if he married and took Anne [Boleyn] to wife the vengeance of God should plague him, and (as she saith) she showed this unto the King. . . .

Item, another season after the angel commanded her to go unto the said Cardinal [Wolsey], and show him of his fall, and that he had not done as she had commanded him by the will of God. . . .

Item, that since he died she saw the disputation of the devils for his soul, and how she was three times lifted up and could not see him neither in heaven, hell, nor purgatory, and at the last where she saw him, and how by her penance he was brought unto heaven, and what souls she saw fly through purgatory. . . .

Item, that the angel commanded her to go to another monk, and bid him burn the New Testament that he had in English, and of great visions seen by the same in token of grace.

Item, that she did show unto Doctor Boking the hour of his death. . . .

Item, of such persons as the angel of God hath appointed

taught to pretend to have visions and revelations. She was placed as a nun in the priory of St Sepulchre at Canterbury, and her pretended visions were recorded and formed into a book. About this time, however, public feeling was roused to a high pitch by Henry VIII.'s divorce from Catherine of Aragon, and by his quarrel with the Pope, and the "holy maid" was seized and examined in the Star Chamber, where she confessed her conspiracy and accomplices. She was condemned to death and executed on April 24th, 1524. Many eminent men, including even Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher, were either deceived, or gave encouragement to the deceptions practised by the "holy maid." The revelations that followed her examination in the Star Chamber did much to bring the monks into disfavour and to hasten the dissolution of the monasteries.

to be at her death, when she shall receive the crown of martyrdom, and the time, with the place.

Item, of 9/9/9, the reign of the King, how long he shall reign, as sayeth a prophecy which agreeth with her saying. . . .

(b) *List of the "Holy Maid's" property.*

Stuff received the 16th day of February, of dame Elisabeth Barton, by the hands of the prioress of Saint Sepulchre's without Canterbury, into the hands of John Anthony of Canterbury, as hereafter followeth:

First . . . one old cushion.

Two carpets, whereof one is cut into pieces.

An old mattress, seven coarse sheets, a coverlet and a pair of blankets, with two pillows, and a bolster.

Two plates, four dishes, two saucers, and a little basin weighing twelve lbs., at fourpence a lb., which my lady prioress hath and paid four shillings . . .

A little old diaper towel . . .

Two candlesticks.

A coat, which dame Katherine Wyttsam hath, paid five shillings.

A piece of a plank for a table.

A little chest.

Stuff which remaineth in the nunnery pertaining unto dame Elisabeth Barton, at the request of my lady prioress:

First, two new cushions, given unto the church.

An old mantle, and a kirtle, unto the youngest nun.

An Irish mantle, a collar, with two great chests, and two stoles and a candlestick, to my lady prioress.

A coverlet, and an old kirtle, to dame Alice Colman, at the request of my lady prioress.

(c) *The Lax Condition of Monastic Life.*

SOURCE: Bishop Nicke's *Visitation of Norwich Cathedral*, translated by G. G. Coulton in *Medieval Studies*, No. XI.

[The following is the judgment that Bishop Nicke pronounced upon the state of affairs as he found them in the Cathedral priory of Norwich in 1514, after his visitation and after hearing the detailed evidence of the monks.]

1. The charters of the dependent cells were not kept within the monastery precincts.

2. The monks do not study after they have taken their Orders of Priesthood.

3. The monks' friends have access to their chambers, and not to the room set aside for the purpose (viz. the parlour within the infirmary).

4. Dom William Harridaunce is the Prior's chaplain, sub cellerarer and keeper of the beercellar, and he unduly exerciseth the office of cellarer.

5. The Prior of St Leonard's [a dependent cell] permitteth all that appertaineth to his office to go to ruin, and maketh no repairs.

6. The chamberlains do not pay the monks their fees [*i.e.* their pocket-money] to the amount of 8s. [each].

7. The Prior of St Leonard's is hortolan or gardener, and performeth not this office.

8. The monks have no preceptor to instruct them in grammar, but have only two lessons a week from Master Wheteacre.

9. Dom John Sall, Precentor, doth not pay the Brethren their pensions.

10. The dormitory bell is broken.

11. Dom William Winkfeld swaggereth like a stage-player and revileth his Brethren.

12. The lost silver vessels are never recalled when the inventories are examined.

13. Women of bad character have access to the monastery.

15. Certain of the Brethren wear linen shirts and long close hosen, and especially Dom John Sall.

16. Religion and chastity are not kept, through the fault of the Subprior, who giveth an evil example.

17. The number of monks is not complete.

18. The third Prior punisheth faults not with fairness, but partially.

19. Dom Francis Norwich is disobedient, and a mover of quarrels among the Brethren.

20. Many of the younger Brethren are sent to the dependent cells before they are instructed in religion and letters.

21. Suspicious women have access to the house of the guest-master.

22. Dom Stephen Dersham keepeth not the schools [*i.e.* does not follow his studies at the University], nor doth he wear the habit according to the ancient custom; Dom Thomas Lemon likewise weareth not the customary dress.

23. Divine Services, both by night and day, are not duly observed, by the fault of the Subprior and third Prior.

24. The chantry of Bishop Walter is not duly served [*i.e.* the dead Bishop's soul was defrauded of the masses for which he had left endowment].

25. The monks wear frocks of worsted, contrary to rules.

26. The Prior of St Leonard wastes the goods of his priory.

28. The sick are compelled to celebrate mass, in spite of their infirmities.

29. The Penitentiaries [*i.e.* official confessors] of the cathedral church are not discreet enough for that office.

30. The cell of Aldby is in great ruin and is heavily burdened with debt.

31. The Prior of St Leonard gives no account of his office as Master of the Hospital of St Paul; for two barns have fallen down by his negligence while he held that mastership.

33. The officials have not rendered accounts of their income for two years past, and therefore the state of the finances is unknown.

34. The monks dance in the guesten-house.

35. In the cell of St Leonard there arise and are continued quarrels and dissensions, with words of opprobrium.

36. The church [of St Leonard's], dormitory, and chapter house are going to ruin; the manors are going to ruin.

37. The cell of Aldby is in debt to the extent of £10, by the Prior's confession.

38. The monastery [of Norwich] is in debt for 200 marks.

(d) *The Preamble of the Act for the Suppression of Smaller Monasteries.*

SOURCE: Wright, *Letters relating to the suppression of the Monasteries.* Spelling modernised. Camden Society.

"Forasmuch as manifest sin, vicious, carnal and abominable living is daily used and committed amongst the little and small abbeys, priories, and other religious houses of monks, canons, and nuns, where the congregation of such religious persons is under the number of twelve persons, whereby the governors of such religious houses . . . spoil, destroy, consume, and utterly waste, as well their churches, monasteries, priories, principal houses, farms, granges, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, as the ornaments of their churches, other goods and chattels, to the high displeasure of Almighty God, slander of good religion, and to the great infamy of the king's highness, and the realm, if redress should not be had thereof; and albeit that many continual visitations hath been heretofore had by the space of two hundred years and more, for an honest, charitable reformation of such unthrifty, carnal and abominable living, yet nevertheless, little or no amendment is hitherto had, but their vicious living shamelessly increaseth and augmenteth, and by a cursed custom so rooted and infested that a great multitude

of religious persons in such small houses do rather choose to rove abroad in apostasy than to conform them to the observation of true religion; so that without such small houses be utterly suppressed, and the religious persons therein committed to great and honourable monasteries of religion in this realm, where they may be compelled to live religiously for the reformation of their lives, there can else be no reformation in this behalf. In consideration whereof the king's most royal majesty, being supreme head on earth under God of the church of England, etc. etc."

(e) *How the Monasteries were Destroyed.*

SOURCE: MS. Cole, xii. 1-49, quoted in Ellis, *Original Letters Illustrative of English History*, Third Series, Vol. III.

So soon as the visitors were entered within the gates, they called the abbot and other officers of the house, and caused them to deliver up to them all their keys, and took an inventory of all their goods both within doors and without; for all such beasts, horses, sheep, and such cattle as were abroad in pastures or grange places, the visitors caused to be brought into their presence, and when they had so done, turned the abbot with all his convent and household forth of the doors.

Which thing was not a little grief to the convent, and all the servants of the house departing one from another, and especially such as with their conscience could not break their profession; for it would have made an heart of flint to have melted and wept to have seen the breaking up of the house and their sorrowful departing, and the sudden spoil that fell the same day of their departure from the house. . . .

Such persons as afterward bought their corn and hay, or such like, and found all the doors either open, or the locks and shackles plucked away, or the door itself taken away, went in and took what they found, filched it away. Some

took the service books that lied in the church, and laid them upon their waine coppes to piece the same. Some took windows of the hay-leith and hid them in their hay. . . . The church was the first thing that was put to the spoil; and then the abbot's lodging, dortor and frater, with the cloister and all the buildings thereabout within the abbey walls. . . . It would have pitied any heart to see what tearing up of the lead there was and plucking up of boards and throwing down of the spars. . . . The persons that cast the lead into fodders, plucked up all the seats in the choir, wherein the monks sat when they said service—which were like to the seats in ministers—and burned them, and melted the lead therewithall, although there was wood plenty within a flight shot of them.

10. THE BIBLE AND REGISTER IN EVERY CHURCH [1538]

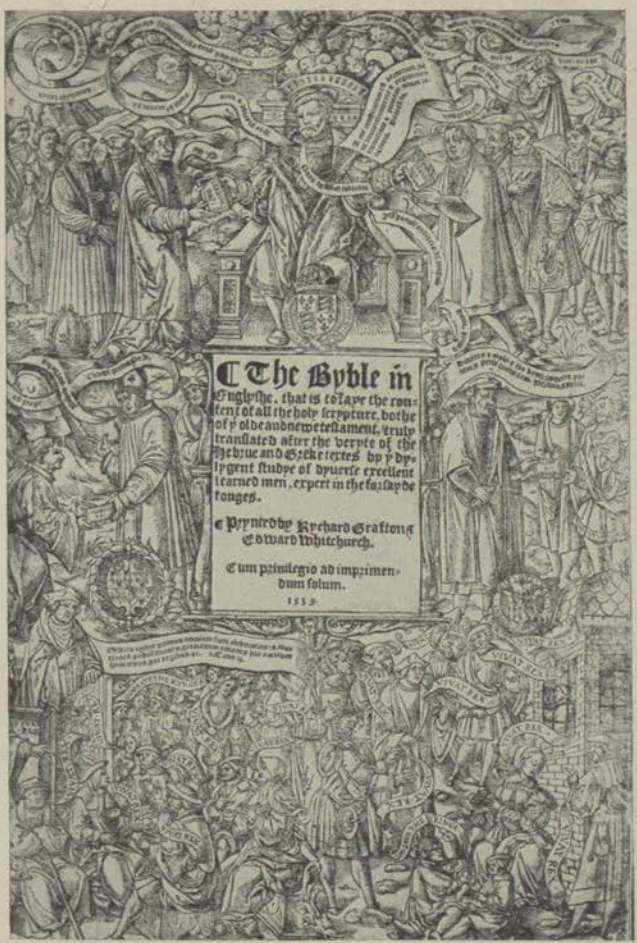
SOURCE: Holinshed, *Chronicle*, Vol. III. London.

This month of September, Thomas Cromwell, lord privy seal, viceregent of the king's highness, set forth injunctions to all bishops and curates through the realm, charging them to see that in every parish church the Bible of the largest volume, printed in English, were placed for all men to read on: and that a book of Register were also provided and kept in every parish church, wherein shall be written every wedding, christening, and burying within the same parish for ever.

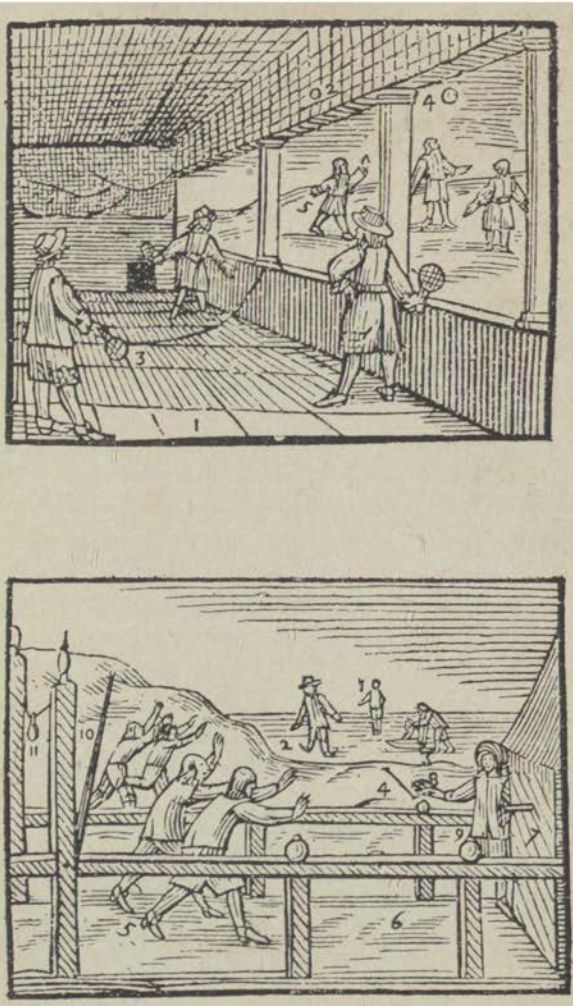
11. THE DIVERSITIES OF EXERCISE [1540]

SOURCE: Sir Thos. Elyot, *The Castle of Health*.

The quality of exercise is the diversity thereof, for as much as therein be many differences in moving, and also some exercise moveth more one part of the body, some another. In difference of moving, some is slow or soft, some is swift or fast, some is strong or violent, some be mixed with strength and swiftness. Strong or violent


The Byble in
Englyshe. that is to saye the con-
tente of all the holy scrypture, both
of ye olde and newe testament, truly
translated after the verite of the
Hebrue and Greke textes by ye dy-
ligent studye of diuerse excellent
learned men, expert in the forsayde
tonges.
Prynted by Rychard Grafton &
Edward Whitchurch.
Cum priuilegio ad imprimen-
dum solum.
1539.

Title-page of the Great Bible, 1539



Diversities of Exercise

exercises be these: delving (specially in tough clay and heavy), bearing or sustaining of heavy burdens, climbing or walking against a steep upright hill, holding a rope and climbing up thereby, hanging by the hands on anything above a man's reach, that his feet touch not the ground, standing and holding up, or spreading the arms, with the hands fast closed, and abiding so a long time. Also to hold the arms steadfast, causing another man to assay to pull them out, and notwithstanding he keepeth his arm steadfast, enforcing thereunto the sinews and muscles. Wrestling also with the arms and legs, if the persons be equal in strength, it doth exercise the one and the other; if the one be stronger, then is it to the weaker a more violent exercise. All these kinds of exercises and other like them do augment strength, and therefore they serve only for young men which be inclined, or be apt to the wars. Swift exercise without violence is, running, playing with weapons, tennis or throwing of the ball, trotting a space of ground forward and backward, going on the toes and holding up the hands: also stirring up and down his arms without plummets. Vehement exercise is compounde of violent exercise and swift. When they are joined together at one time, as dancing of galiards, throwing of the balls and running after them, football play may be in the number thereof, throwing of the long dart and continuing it many times, running in harness and other like.

The moderate exercise is long walking or going a journey. The parts of the body have sundry exercises appropried unto them; as running and going is the most proper for the legs; moving of the arms up and down, or stretching them out and playing with weapons serveth most for the arms and shoulders; stooping and rising often times, or lifting great weights, taking up plummets or other like poises on the ends of staves, and in likewise lifting up in every hand a spear or morrispike by the ends, specially

crossing the hands, and to lay them down again in their places; these do exercise the back and loins. Of the bulk and lungs the proper exercise is moving of the breath in singing or crying. The entrails, which be underneath the midriff, be exercised by blowing, either by constraint or playing on shaulmes or sackbuts, or other like instruments which do require much wind. The muscles are best exercised with holding the breath in, a long time, so that he which doth exercise hath well digested his meat, and is not troubled with much wind in his body. Finally loud reading, counterfeit battle, tennis, or throwing the ball, running, walking, added to shooting, which in mine opinion, exceeds all the other, do exercise the body commodiously.

12. "THE ORNAMENTATION OF A SHIP" [1543]

SOURCE: *Book of War by Sea and by Land*, by Jehan Bythorne, Gunner in ordinary to the King. Published in the *Naval Miscellany*, Vol. I. Edited by Sir John Laughton, 1902.

On touching the ornamentation of your ship, on the outside, from the main wale in the water-line to the top of the castles, she ought to be painted in your colours and devices, as also the fore-castle and the after-castle, as splendidly as may be. And all the shields round the upper part of the castles—as well the fore-castle as the after-castle—ought to be emblazoned with your arms and devices. And above the fore-castle, on a staff inclining forwards, you ought to have a pennon of your colours and devices; as also at the two corners of the castle. Amidships there ought to be two square banners emblazoned with your arms. On the after-castle, high above the rudder, you ought to have a large square banner, larger than any of the others. And on each side of this castle, as you face towards the mast, there ought to be five or six square banners, not so large as that above the rudder, which I have just spoken of,

all emblazoned with your arms, quarters, and devices. All round the main top—*videlicet*, of the main mast—you ought to have top-armour of the full depth of the top, and emblazoned with your arms: and from it there must fly a broad swallowed-tailed standard, of such length as to reach to the water, and similarly emblazoned with your arms and devices. And on the mast of that top (main top mast) there ought to be a square banner emblazoned with your arms. And no one is permitted to carry such a banner on the main topmast except you: for it is by it that you are recognised by day. Likewise on the fore-mast there ought to be a top with top-armour all round, like to that of the main top. And above there ought to be a pennon, like to the great standard, but not nearly so long.

Some there are who hang a great number of small banners or pennons from the main-stay or from the fore-stay, as also from the main mizzen-stay; likewise from both sides of the vessel in the waist, according to their pleasure.

And for celebrating a triumph, your ship ought to be covered in and curtained with rich cloth; and the same on the two sides, as low down as the guns; and within board, below the deck, it should also be draped and canopied, so that the beams cannot be seen; and underfoot there should be a thick carpet, as in a room on shore; and the after-castle should be richly draped, as also the fore-castle, but not so richly. You may also paint your sails with such devices and colours as you choose; or with the representation of a saint, if you prefer it. And in my opinion, Sir, your ship will be thus prepared in the best possible manner, whether for the campaign or for actual battle.

13. TWO EXTRACTS FROM BISHOP LATIMER'S SERMONS [1549]

SOURCE: Latimer, *Sermons*. Ed. Corrie. Vol. I.

(1) *What of the Bow?*

Men of England in times past, when they would exercise themselves (for we must needs have some recreation, our bodies cannot endure without some exercise) they were wont to go abroad in the fields a-shooting, but now is turned into glossing [cheating]. . . . The art of shooting hath been in times past much esteemed in this realm, it is a gift of God that He hath given us to excel all other nations withal, it hath been God's instrument whereby He hath given us many victories against our enemies. . . . In my time my poor father was as diligent to teach me to shoot, as to learn me any other thing, and so I think other men did their children. He taught me how to draw, how to lay my body in my bow, and not to draw with strength of arms as other nations do, but with strength of body. I had my bows bought me according to my age and strength; and as I increased in them, so my bows were made bigger and bigger: for men shall never shoot well except they be brought up in it. It is a goodly art, a wholesome kind of exercise and much commended in Physic.

(2) *The Decline of Yeomanry.*

My father was a yeoman and had no lands of his own; only he had a farm of three or four pound by year at the uttermost, and hereupon he tilled so much as kept half a dozen men. He had walk for an hundred sheep, and my mother milked thirty kine. He was able and did find the king a harness, with himself and his horse, while he came to the place that he should receive the king's wages. I can remember that I buckled his harness, when he went into Blackheath field. He kept me to school, or else I

had not been able to have preached before the king's majesty now. He married my sisters with five pound or twenty nobles apiece, so that he brought them up in godliness, and fear of God. He kept hospitality for his poor neighbours, and some alms he gave to the poor. And all this did he of the said farm, Where he that now hath it payeth sixteen pound by year, or more, and is not able to do anything for his prince, for himself, nor for his children, or give a cup of drink to the poor.

Thus all the enhancing and rearing goeth to your private commodity and wealth. So that where ye had a single too much, you have that: and since the same, ye have enhanced the rent and so have increased another too much: so now ye have double too much, which is too too much. But let the preacher preach till his tongue be worn to the stumps, nothing is amended. We have good statutes made for the commonwealth as touching commoners and inclosers; many meetings and sessions, but in the end of the matter, there cometh nothing forth. Well, well, this is one thing I will say unto you, from whence it cometh I know, even from the devil. I know his intent in it. For if ye bring it to pass that the yeomanry be not able to put their sons to school (as indeed universities do wonderously decay already) and that they be not able to marry their daughters . . . I say, ye pluck salvation from the people, and utterly destroy the realm. For by yeomen's sons, the faith of Christ is, and hath been maintained chiefly. Is this realm taught by rich men's sons? No, no; read the chronicles: ye shall find sometime noblemen's sons, which have been unpreaching bishops and prelates, but ye shall find none of them learned men. . . .

14. THE GOOD HOUSEWIFELY PHYSIC [1551]

SOURCE: Thomas Tusser's poem, *Five Hundred Good Points of Husbandry.* Spelling modernised.

Good housewives provide, ere a sickness do come,
Of sundry good things in her house to have some.
Good *aqua composita*, and vineger tart,
Rosewater, and treacle, to comfort the heart.
Cold herbs in her garden, for agues that burn,
That over-strong heat to good temper may turn.
White endive, and succory, with spinach enow;
All such, with good pot-herbs, should follow the plough.
Get water of fumitory, liver to cool,
And others the like, or else go like a fool.
Conserves of barberry, quinces and such,
With syrups, that easeth the sickly, so much.
Ask *Medicus* counsel, ere medicine ye make
And honour that man for necessity's sake.
Though thousands hate physic, because of the cost,
Yet thousands it helpeth, that else should be lost,
Good broth, and good keeping, do much now and then:
Good diet with wisdom, best comforteth man.
In health, to be stirring shall profit thee best;
In sickness hate troubles, seek quiet and rest.
Remember thy soul: let no fancy prevail;
Make ready to God-ward; let faith never quail
The sooner thyself thou submittest to God,
The sooner He ceaseth to scourge with His rod.

15. A FRENCHMAN'S VIEWS OF ENGLAND AND THE ENGLISH [1558]

SOURCE: Translated from Perlin's *Description of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland.* Ed. 1775.

It may be said of the English, neither in war are they brave, nor in peace are they faithful; and, as the Spaniard says, England is a good land with bad people. . . .

The people of this nation mortally hate the French as their old enemies . . . and always call us *France chenesve* [knave], *France dogue.* . . .

The people are proud and seditious, with bad consciences, and are faithless to their word, as experience has taught. These villains hate all sorts of foreigners; and although they have a good land and a good country, they are all constantly wicked and moved by every wind; for now they will love a prince; turn your hand, they will wish him killed and crucified. . . .

In this kingdom of England there are two universities, viz. Cambruches and Auxonne, called in Latin Auxonia, Cambruche in Latin Cambrusium. The people of the country do not frequent them at all or very little, and do not give themselves up much to letters, but only to vanity and ambition and merchandise. . . . The people are reprobates, and all enemies to good manners and letters. . . .

In this country you will hardly meet with any great nobles whose relations have not had their heads cut off. Certes I should like better (with the reader's leave) to be a swineherd and preserve my head. For this affliction falls furiously upon the heads of the great nobles. For you will see these great lords in great pomp and magnificence for a time; turn your hand, you will see them in the hands of the executioner. . . . In France, justice is well administered, and not tyranny, as in England, which is the pest and ruin of a country; for a kingdom ought to be governed, not in shedding human blood in such abundance that the blood flows in streams. . . .

The people of this place make great cheer, and like much to banquet, and you will see many rich taverns and tavern-keepers, who have customarily large purses in which are three or four small purses full of money, consequently we may consider that this country is very full of money, and that the tradespeople gain more in a week than those of Germany

or Spain in a month. For you will see hatters and joiners, artisans generally playing their crowns at tennis, which is not ordinarily seen in any other place, and particularly on a working day. And in a tavern they make good cheer oftener than once a day with rabbits, and hares, and every sort of food. . . .

The English are merry with one another, and are very fond of music; for there is not ever so small a church in which music is not sung; and they are great drinkers. . . . Now remember (if you please) that in this country they generally use vessels of silver when they drink wine; and they will say to you usually at the table, *goud chere.* The servants wait on their masters bareheaded, and leave their bonnets on the dresser.

They use much whiter bread than in France, and it was in my time as cheap as in France; and with their beer they have a custom of using very soft cake, with raisins in it, and which make the beer taste doubly good; and I have had formerly at Rie, a seaport, as good as ever I drank in any country in the world. The people of this country are very good in the furniture of their houses, as good as any people in the world.

In this country all shops of all trades are open, like those of the barbers in France, and they have a great many openings of glass, as well in the workshops as in the higher rooms; for in the rooms you will see many windows of glass, and in almost all the houses of every town, although they belong to tradespeople; and all the houses here are like the working-places of the barbers of France, as well above as below; and you will see in their workshops and windows, as often in towns as in villages, a great many flowers, and in taverns a great deal of hay on the wooden benches, and many tapestried curtains on which the travellers sit down. The English make a great use of tapestries and of painted linens, which are well done and

on which are many magnificent roses embellished with fleur-de-lis and lions, for you can enter but few houses where you do not find these tapestries. . . .

The country is well covered and shady, for the lands are all enclosed with hedges, oaks, and several other sorts of trees, so that in travelling you think you are in a perpetual wood, but you will discover many flights of steps which are called in English *stiles*, and by which persons on foot go along little paths and enter the grounds; persons on horseback do not go thus but go on the high-road between trees and bushes. In the country there are no shepherds who generally keep the sheep, but they usually leave them in the woods morning and evening, and in the open fields. . . . The English are short of all sorts of fruits, as apricots and peaches. . . . The people are all armed; and the labourers when they till the ground, leave their swords and their bows in a corner of the field. . . .

And this is enough about England.

16. ELIZABETH—A VERY HUMAN QUEEN [1564]

SOURCE: Sir James Melvil's *Memoirs*. Ed. 1683. Spelling modernised.

[Sir James Melvil, a gentleman of the bed-chamber to Mary, Queen of Scots, was sent on a mission to the English Court. Below is his description of an interview with Queen Elizabeth.]

She [Queen Elizabeth] appeared to be so affectionate to the Queen [Mary, Queen of Scots] her good sister, that she expressed a great desire to see her. And because their so much, by her, desired meeting could not be so hastily brought to pass, she appeared with great delight to look upon her majesty's picture. She took me to her bed-chamber, and opened a little cabinet, wherein were divers little pictures wrapped within paper, and their names written with her own hand upon the papers. Upon the

first that she took up was written *My Lord's Picture.* I held the candle and pressed to see that picture so named: she appeared loath to let me see it, yet my importunity prevailed for a sight thereof; and I found it to be the Earl of Leicester's picture. I desired that I might have it to carry home to my queen, which she refused, alleging that she had but that one picture of his. I said: "Your majesty hath here the original"; for I perceived him at the farthest part of the chamber, speaking with secretary Cecil. Then she took out the queen's picture and kissed it, and I adventured to kiss her hand, for the great love therein evidenced to my mistress. She showed me also a fair ruby, as great as a tennis-ball; I desired that she would send either it or my Lord of Leicester's picture, as a token to my queen. She said, if the queen would follow her counsel that she would in process of time get all she had; that in the meantime, she was resolved in a token to send her with me a fair diamond. It was at this time late after supper; she appointed me to be with her the next morning by eight of the clock, at which time she used to walk in her garden.

She inquired several things of me relating to this kingdom [Scotland], and other countries wherein I had travelled. She caused me to dine with her dame of honour, my Lady Stafford (an honourable and godly lady, who had been at Geneva banished during the reign of Queen Mary) that I might be always near her, that she might confer with me. . . . At divers meetings we had divers purposes. The queen, my mistress, had instructed me to leave matters of gravity sometimes, and cast in merry purposes, lest otherwise I should be wearied, she being well informed of that queen's natural temper, Therefore, in declaring my observations of the customs of Dutchland, Poland, and Italy, the buskins of the women was not forgot; and what country weed I thought best becoming gentlewomen. The queen said she had clothes of every sort, which every day there-

after, so long as I was there, she changed. One day she had the English weed, another the French, and another the Italian; and so forth. She asked me which of them became her best. I answered, in my judgment the Italian dress; which answer I found pleased her well, for she delighted to show her golden-coloured hair, wearing a caul and bonnet as they do in Italy. Her hair was rather reddish than yellow, curled in appearance naturally.

She desired to know of me what colour of hair was reputed best; and whether my queen's hair or hers was best, and which of the two was fairest. I answered, the fairness of them both was not their worst faults. But she was earnest with me to declare which of them I judged fairest. I said she was the fairest queen in England, and mine the fairest queen in Scotland. Yet she appeared earnest. I answered, they were both the fairest ladies in their countries; that her majesty was whiter, but my queen was very lovely. She inquired which of them was of highest stature. I said: "My queen." "Then," saith she, "she is too high, for I myself am neither too high nor too low." Then she asked what exercise she used. I answered that when I received my dispatch the queen was lately come from the Highland hunting; that when her more serious affairs permitted, she was taken up with reading of histories; that sometimes she recreated herself in playing upon the lute and virginals. She asked if she played well. I said reasonably, for a queen.

That same day after dinner, my Lord of Hunsdean drew me up to a quiet gallery that I might hear some music; but he said he durst not avow it, where I might hear the queen play upon the virginals. After I had hearkened awhile, I took by the tapestry that hung before the door of the chamber, and seeing her back was toward the door, I entered within the chamber, and stood a pretty space hearing her play excellently well; but she left off immediately, so soon as she turned about and saw me. She

appeared to be surprised to see me, and came forward, seeming to strike me with her hand; alleging that she used not to play before men, but when she was solitary, to shun melancholy. She asked how I came there? I answered: "As I was walking with my Lord of Hunsdean, as we passed by the chamber-door, I heard such melody as ravished me, whereby I was drawn in ere I knew how"; excusing my fault of homeliness as being brought up in the court of France, where such freedom was allowed; declaring myself willing to endure what kind of punishment her majesty should be pleased to inflict upon me for so great an offence. Then she sat down low upon a cushion, and I upon my knees by her, but with her own hand she gave me a cushion to lay under my knee; which at first I refused, but she compelled me to take it. She then called for my Lady Strafford out of the next chamber, for the queen was alone. She inquired whether my queen or she played best. In that I found myself obliged to give her the praise. She said my French was good, and asked if I could speak Italian, which she spoke reasonably well. I told her majesty I had no time to learn the language perfectly, not having been above two months in Italy. Then she spoke to me in Dutch, which was not good, and would know what kind of books I most delighted in, whether theology, history, or love matters. I said I liked well of all sorts. Here I took occasion to press earnestly my dispatch: she said I was weary sooner of her company than she was of mine. I told her majesty that though I had no reason of being weary, I knew my mistress her affairs called me home: yet I was stayed two days longer, till I might see her dance, as I was afterward informed. Which being over, she inquired of me whether she or my queen danced best. I answered the queen danced not so high or disposedly as she did. Then again she wished that she might see the queen at some convenient place of meeting. I offered to convey her secretly

Queen Elizabeth dancing with the Earl of Leicester

A group of smokers

to Scotland by post, clothed like a page, that under this disguise she might see the queen; as James V. had gone in disguise with his own ambassador to see the Duke of Vendôme's sister, who should have been his wife. Telling her that her chamber might be kept in her absence, as though she were sick; that none needed to be privy thereto except Lady Strafford and one of the grooms of the chamber. She appeared to like that kind of language, only answered it with a sigh, saying: "Alas! if I might do it thus!"

. . .

17. "HUE AND CRIE" [1564]

SOURCE: Sir Thos. Smith, *De Republica Anglorum*. Ed. L. Alston.

By the olde law of Englande if any theft, or robberie be doone, if he that is robbed, or he that seeth or perceiveth that any man is robbed doe levie hue and crie, that is to say, doe call and crie for aide, and say that a theft or robberie is doone contrarie to the Princes peace and assurance: The Constable of the village to whom he doth come, and so make that crie, ought to raise the parish to aide him and seeke the theefe, and if the theefe be not founde in that parish, to go to the next and raise that Constable, and so still by the Constables and them of the parish one after an other. This hue and crie from parish to parish is caried, till the theefe or robber be founde. That parish which doeth not his dutie, but letted by their negligence the theefe to depart, doth not onely paie a fine to the king, but must repaie to the partie robbed his dammages. So that everie English man is a sergiant to take the theefe, and who sheweth himselfe negligent therein, doth not only incur evill opinion therefore, but hardly shall escape punishment: what is doone with the theefe or robber when he is taken, I shall shewe you hereafter. The same manner is followed if anie man bee slaine, for streight the murtherer is pursued

of everie man till he be taken. So soone as any is brought to the Justices of peace by this hue or crie, by the Constable or anie other who doth pursue the malefactor, he doeth examine the malefactor, and writeth the examination and his confession: then he doth binde the partie that is robbed or him that sueth, and the Constable, and so manie as can give evidence against the malefactor to be at the next sessions of gaole deliverie to give evidence for the Queene. He bindeth them in recognisance of xl', xxl', xxxl', xll', or Cl', according to his discretion, and the qualities of the crime: which certified under his hande, is levied upon the recognizance if they faile of being there.

18. THE FORME OF HOLDING THE PARLIAMENT [1564]

SOURCE: Sir Thos. Smith, *De Republica Anglorum*. Ed. L. Alston.

The first day of the parliament the Prince and all the Lordes in their robes of parliament do meete in the higher house, where after prayers made, they that be present are written, and they that be absent upon sicknes or some other reasonable cause (which the prince will allowe) do constitute under their hande and seale some one of those who be present as their procurer or atturney to give voice for them, so that by presence or atturney and proxey they be all there, all the princes and barrons and all archbishops and bishops, and (when abbots were) so many abbots as had voice in parliament.

The place where the assembly is, is richly tapessed and hanged, a princely and royal throne as appertaineth to a king, set in the middest of the higher place thereof. Next under the prince sitteth the Chancellor, who is the voyce and orator of the prince. On the one side of that house or chamber sitteth the archbishops and bishops, ech in his ranke, on the other side the dukes and barons. In the

middest thereof uppon woolsackes sitteth the Judges of the realme, the master of the roules, and the secretaries of estate. But these that sit on the woolsacks have no voice in the house, but onely sit there to aunswere their knowledge in the law, when they be asked if any doubt arise among the lordes. The secretaries to aunswere of such letters or thinges passed in counsell whereof they have the custodie and knowledge: and this is called the upper house, whose consent and dissent is given by ech man severally and by himselfe, just for himself, and then severally for so many as he hath letters and proxies, when it commeth to the question, saying onely content or not content, without further reasoning or replying.

In this meane time, the knights of the shires and burgesses of the parliament (for so they are called that have voice in parliament, and are chosen as I have said before, to the number betwixt iijC and iiijC) are called by such as it pleaseth the prince to appoint, into an other great house or chamber by name, to which they aunswere and declaring for what shyre or towne they aunswere: then they are willed to choose an able and discreete man to be as it were the mouth of them all, and to speake for and in the name of them, and to present him so chosen by them to the prince: which done they comming al with him to a barre, which is at the nether ende of the upper house, there he first praiseth the prince, then maketh his excuse of unabilitie, and prayeth the prince that he would command the commons to choose another. The chancellor in the princes name doth so much declare him able, as he did declare himself unable, and thanketh the commons for choosing so wise, discreete and eloquent a man, and willeth them to go and consult of lawes for the common wealth. Then the speaker maketh certaine requests to the prince in the name of the commons, first that his majestie would be content that they may use and enjoy all their liberties and priviledges that the

common house was wont to enjoy. Secondly that they might franckely and freely saye their mindes in disputing of such matters as may come in question, and that without offence to his majestie. Thirdly that if any should chaunce of that lower house to offend or not to do or say as should become him, or if any should offend any of them being called to that his highnes court: That they themselves might (according to the ancient custome) have the punishment of them. And fourthly, that if there came any doubt, whereupon they shal desire to have thadvise or conference with his Majestie or with any of the Lordes, that they might doe it: All which he promiseth in the commons names that they shall not abuse, but have such regarde as most faithfull, true and loving subjectes ought to have to their prince. . . .

All bils be thrise in three diverse days read and disputed upon before they come to the question. In the disputing is a mervelous good order used in the lower house. He that standeth uppe bareheadded is understanded that he will speak to the bill. If moe stande uppe, who that first is judged to arise, is first harde, though the one doe prayse the law, the other diswade it, yet there is no altercation. For everie man speaketh as to the speaker, not as one to an other, for that is against the order of the house. It is also taken against the order, to name him whom ye doe confute, but by circumlocution, as he speaketh with the bill, or he that spake against the bill, and gave this and this reason. . . .

No reviling or nipping wordes must be used. For then all the house will crie, it is against the order: and if any speake unreverently or seditiouslie against the Prince or the privie counsell, I have seene them not onely interrupted, but it hath beene moved after to the house, and they have sent them to the tower. . . .

At the afternoone they keepe no parliament. The speaker

hath no voice in the house, nor they will not suffer him to speake in any bill to moove or diswade it. But when any bill is read, the speakers office is as brieflie and as plainely as he may to declare the effect thereof to the house. . . .

19. "I CANNOT EAT BUT LITTLE MEAT" [1565]

SOURCE: The play, *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, attributed to Bishop Still.

I cannot eat but little meat;
My stomach is not good;
But sure I think that I can drink
With him that wears a hood.
Though I go bare, take ye no care,
I am nothing a-cold,
I stuff my skin so full within
Of jolly good ale and old.

Back and side go bare, go bare;
Both foot and hand go cold;
But, belly, God send thee good ale enough
Whether it be new or old.

I love no roast but a nut-brown toast
And a crab laid in the fire;
A little bread shall do me stead;
Much bread I no desire.
No frost, nor snow, no wind, I trow
Can hurt me if I would,
I am so wrapped, and throwly lapped,
Of jolly good ale and old.
Back and side, etc.

And Tib, my wife, that as her life
Loveth well good ale to seek,
Full oft drinks she, till ye may see
The tears run down her cheek:

Then doth she troul to me the bowl,
Even as a malt-worme should,
And saith, " Sweetheart I took my part
Of this jolly good ale and old ! "
Back and side, etc.

Now let them drink till they nod and wink
Even as good fellows should do ;
They shall not miss to have the bliss
Good ale doth bring men to.
And all poor souls that have scoured bowls,
Or have them lustily trouled,
God save the lives of them and their wives
Whether they be young or old.
Back and side, etc.

20. THE USE OF TOBACCO [1573]

SOURCE: Harrison's *Description of England.* Contained in Holinshed's *Chronicle,* Vol. I.

In these days, the taking in of the smoke of the Indian herb called " Tabaco," by an instrument formed like a little ladle, whereby it passeth from the mouth into the head and stomach, is greatly taken up and used in England, against Rheums and some other diseases engendered in the lungs and inward parts and not without effect. This herb as yet is not so common, but that for want thereof divers do practise for the like purposes with the Nicetian, otherwise called in latin " Hyosciamus Lutens," or the yellow benbone, albeit not without great error ; for although that herb be a sovereign healer of old ulcers and sores reputed incurable outwardly, yet is not the smoke or vapour thereof so profitable to be received inwardly.

21. ENGLAND IN THE DAYS OF ELIZABETH

SOURCE: As previous extract.

(1) *The Classes of Society.*

We, in England, divide our people commonly into four sorts, as gentlemen, citizens or burgesses, yeomen, and artificers or labourers. Of gentlemen the first and chief (next the king) be the prince, dukes, marquesses, earls, viscounts and barons; and these are called gentlemen of the greater sort, or (as our common usage of speech is) lords and noblemen: and next unto them be knights, esquires, and, last of all, they that are simply called gentlemen.

(2) *Commerce.*

Of the want of our commodities here at home, by their great transportation of them into other countries, I speak not, sith the matter will easily betway itself. Certes among the Lacedaemonians it was found out that great numbers of merchants were nothing to the furtherance of the state of the commonwealth: wherefore it is to be wished that the huge heap of them were somewhat restrained, as also of our lawyers, so should the rest live more easily upon their own, and few honest chapmen be brought to decay by breaking of the bankrupt. I do not deny but that the navy of the land is in part maintained by their traffic, and so are the high prices of wares kept up, now they have gotten the only sale of things upon pretence of better furtherance of the commonwealth into their own hands: whereas in times past, when the strange bottoms were suffered to come in, we had sugar for fourpence the pound, that now at the writing of this treatise is well worth half a crown, raisins or currants for a penny that now are holden at sixpence, and sometimes at eightpence and tenpence the

pound; nutmegs at twopence halfpenny the ounce, ginger at a penny an ounce, prunes at halfpenny farthing, great raisins three pounds for a penny, cinnamon at fourpence the ounce, cloves at two pence, and pepper at twelve and sixteen pence the pound. Whereby we may see the sequel of things not always, but very seldom, to be such as is pretended in the beginning. The wares that they carry out of the realm are for the most part broad clothes and carsies of all colours, likewise cottons, friezes, rugs, tin, wool, our best beer, baize, bustian, mockadoes (tufted and plain) rash, lead, fells, etc.: which being shipped at sundry ports of our coasts, are borne from thence into all quarters of the world, and there either exchanged for other wares or ready money, to the great gain and commodity of our merchants. And whereas in times past their chief trade was into Spain, Portugal, France, Flanders, Danske, Norway, Scotland and Iceland only, now in these days, as men not contented with these journeys, they had sought out the East and West Indies, and made now and then suspicious voyages, not only unto the Canaries and New Spain, but likewise into Cathay, Muscovy, and Tartaria, and the region thereabout, from whence (as they say) they bring home great commodities. But alas! I see not by all their travel that the prices of things are any whit abated.

(3) *The Yeomen of England.*

Yeomen are those which by our laws are called *Legales homines*, free men born English, and may dispend of their own free land in yearly revenue to the sum of forty shillings sterling or six pounds as money goeth in our times. . . . The word is derived from the Saxon term *Zeoman* or *Geoman*, which signifieth (as I have read) a settled or staid man, such I mean as, being married and of some years, betaketh himself to stay in the places of his abode for the better

maintenance of himself and his family, whereof the single sort have no regard, but are likely to be still fleeting now hither now thither, which argueth want of stability in determination and resolution of judgment, for the execution of things of any importance. This sort of people have a certain pre-eminence, and more estimation than labourers and the common sort of artificers, and these commonly live wealthily, keep good houses, and travel to get riches. They are also for the most part farmers to gentlemen, or at the leastwise artificers, and with grazing, frequenting of markets, and keeping of servants (not idle servants, as the gentlemen do, but such as get both their own and part of their master's living), do come to great wealth, insomuch that many of them are able and do buy the lands of unthrifty gentlemen, and often setting their sons to the schools, to the universities, and to the Inns of the Court, or, otherwise leaving them sufficient lands whereupon they may live without labour, do make them by those means to become gentlemen. These were they that in times past made all France afraid. And albeit they be not called "Master" as gentlemen are, or "Sir" as to knights appertaineth, but only "John" and "Thomas," etc., yet have they been found to have done very good service.

The kings of England in foughten battles were wont to remain among them (who were their footmen) as the French kings did amongst their horsemen, the prince thereby shewing where his chief strength did consist.

(4) *Gardens and their Produce.*

At this present have we none [*i.e.* vines] at all (or else very little to speak of) growing in this island, which I impute not unto the soil but the negligence of my countrymen. Such herbs, fruits, and roots also as grow yearly out of the ground, of seed, have been very plentiful in this land, in

the time of the first Edward, and after his days; but in process of time they grew also to be neglected, so that from Henry the Fourth till the latter end of Henry the Seventh and beginning of Henry the Eighth, there was little or no use of them in England, but they remained either unknown or supposed to be as food more meet for hogs and savage beasts to feed upon than mankind. Whereas in my time their use is not only resumed among the poor commons, I mean of melons, pompions, gourds, cucumbers, radishes, skirets, parsnips, carrots, cabbages, navews, turnips and all kinds of salad herb—but also fed upon as dainty dishes at the tables of delicate merchants, gentlemen, and the nobility, who make their provision yearly for new seeds out of strange countries, from whence they have them abundantly. Neither do they now stay with such of these fruits as are wholesome in their kinds but adventure further upon such as are very dangerous and hurtful, as the verangenes, mushrooms, etc., as if nature had ordained all for the belly, or that all things were to be eaten for whose mischievous operation the Lord in some measure hath given and provided a remedy.

Hops in time past were plentiful in this land. Afterwards also their maintenance did cease. And now being revived, where are any better to be found? . . .

Madder hath grown abundantly in this island, but of long time neglected, and now a little revived, and offereth itself to prove no small benefit unto our country. . . .

If you look into our gardens annexed to our houses, how wonderfully is their beauty increased, not only with flowers . . . and variety of curious and costly workmanship, but also with rare and medicinal herbs sought up in the land within these forty years, so that, in comparison of this present, the ancient gardens were but dunghills and laistowes to such as did possess them. . . . So curious and cunning are our gardeners now in these days that they

presume to do in manner what they list with nature, and moderate her course in things as if they were her superiors. It is a world also to see how many strange herbs, plants and annual fruits are daily brought unto us from the Indies, Americans, Taprobane, Canary Isles and all parts of the world. . . .

And even as it fareth with our gardens, so doth it with our orchards, which were never furnished with so good fruit nor with such variety as at this present. For, beside that we have most delicate apples, plums, pears, walnuts, filberts, etc. . . . so have we no less store of strange fruit, as apricots, almonds, peaches, figs, corn-trees, in noblemen's orchards. I have seen capers, oranges and lemons, and heard of wild olives growing here, besides other strange trees, brought from far, whose names I know not. So that England for these commodities was never better furnished, neither any nation under their clime more plentifully endued with these and other blessings from the most high God, who grant us grace withal to use the same to His honour and glory! . . . For my own part, good reader, let me boast a little of my garden, which is but small, and the whole area thereof little above 300 foot of ground, and yet such hath been my good luck in purchase of the variety of simples, that notwithstanding my small ability, there are very near three hundred of one sort and other contained therein, no one of them being common or usually to be had.

(5) *Churches and Services.*

As for our churches themselves, bells and times of morning and evening prayer remain as in times past, saving that all images, shrines, tabernacles, rood-lofts, and monuments of idolatory are removed, taken down, and defaced, only the stories in glass windows excepted, which, for want of

sufficient store of new stuff, and by reason of extreme charge that should grow by the alteration of the same into white panes throughout the realm, are not altogether abolished in most places at once, but by little and little suffered to decay, that white glass may be provided and set up in their rooms. Finally, whereas there was wont to be a great partition between the choir and the body of the church, now it is either very small or none at all, and (to say the truth) altogether needless, sith the minister saith his service commonly in the body of the church, with his face toward the people, in a little tabernacle of wainscot provided for the purpose, by which means the ignorant do not only learn divers of the psalms and usual prayers by heart, but also such as can read do pray together with him, so that the whole congregation at one instant pour out their petitions unto the living God for the whole estate of His church in most earnest and fervent manner. Our holy and festival days are very well reduced also unto a less number; for whereas (not long since) we had under the pope four score and fifteen called festival, and thirty *profesti*, beside the Sundays, they are all brought unto seven and twenty, and with them the superfluous numbers of idle wakes, guilds, fraternities, church-ales, help-ales, and soul-ales, called also dirge-ales, with the heathenish rioting at bride-ales, are well diminished and laid aside. And no great matter were it if the feasts of all our apostles, evangelists, and martyrs, with that of all saints, were brought to the holy days that follow upon Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide; and those of the Virgin Mary, with the rest, utterly removed from the calendars, as neither necessary nor commendable in a reformed church.

The apparel in like sort of our clergymen is comely, and, in truth, more decent than ever it was in the popish church, before the universities bound their graduates unto a stable attire, afterward usurped also even by the blind Sir Johns.

For . . . you shall find that they went either in divers colours like players, or in garments of light hue, as yellow, red, green, etc., with their shoes piked, their hair crisped, their girdles armed with silver, their shoes, spurs, bridles, etc., buckled with like metal, their apparel (for the most part) of silk, and richly furred, their caps laced and buttoned with gold, so that to meet a priest in these days was to behold a peacock that spreadeth his tail when he danceth before the hen: which now (I say) is well reformed.

(6) *Food, Meals and Meal-times.*

. . . There is no restraint of any meat either for religion's sake or public order in England, but it is lawful for every man to feed upon whatsoever he is able to purchase, except it be upon those days whereon eating of flesh is especially forbidden by the laws of the realm, which order is taken only to the end our numbers of cattle may be better increased and that abundance of fish which the sea yieldeth more generally received. Besides this, there is great consideration had in making this law for the preservation of the navy and maintenance of convenient numbers of seafaring men, both which would otherwise greatly decay if some means were not found whereby they might be increased. But howsoever this care standeth, white meats, milk, butter and cheese (which were never so dear as in my time, and wont to be accounted of as one of the chief stays throughout the island), are now reputed as food appertinent only to the inferior sort, whilst such as are more wealthy do feed upon the flesh of all kinds of cattle accustomed to be eaten, all sorts of fish upon our coasts and in our fresh rivers, and such diversity of wild and tame fowls as are either bred in our island or brought over unto us from other countries of the main.

In number of dishes and change of meat the nobility

of England (whose cooks are for the most part musical-headed Frenchmen and strangers) do most exceed, sith there is no day in manner that passeth over their heads wherein they have not only beef, mutton, veal, lamb, kid, pork, cony, capon, pig, or so many of these as the season yieldeth, but also some portion of the red or fallow deer, besides great variety of fish and wild fowl, and thereto sundry other delicates wherein the sweet hand of the sea-faring Portugal is not wanting. . . .

The chief part likewise of their daily provision is brought in before them (commonly in silver vessels, if they be of the degree of barons, bishops and upwards) and placed on their tables, whereof when they have taken what it pleaseth them, the rest is reserved, and afterward sent down to their serving men and waiters, who feed thereon in like sort with convenient moderation, their reversion also being bestowed upon the poor which lie ready at their gates in great number to receive the same. This is spoken of the principal tables whereat the nobleman, his lady and guests are accustomed to sit; besides which they have a certain ordinary allowance daily appointed for their halls, where the chief officers and household servants (for all are not permitted by custom to wait upon their master) and with them such inferior guests do feed as are not of calling to associate with the nobleman himself; so that, besides those aforementioned, which are called to the principal table, there are commonly forty or three score persons fed in those halls to the great relief of such poor suitors and strangers also as oft be partakers thereof and otherwise like to dine hardly. As for drink, it is usually filled in pots, goblets, jugs, bowls of silver in noblemen's houses, also in fine Venice glasses of all forms; and for want of these elsewhere, in pots of earth of sundry colours and moulds, whereof many are garnished with silver, or at the leastwise in pewter. . . . It is a world to see in these our days, wherein gold

and silver most aboundeth, how that our gentility, as loathing those metals (because of the plenty), do now generally choose rather the Venice glasses, both for our wine and beer. . . . And as this is seen in the gentility, so in the wealthy commonalty the like desire of glass is not neglected. . . . The poorest also will have glass if they may; but sith the Venetian is somewhat too dear for them, they content themselves with such as are made at home of fern and burned stone. . . .

The gentlemen and merchants keep much about one rate, and each of them contenteth himself with four, five or six dishes, when they have but small resort, or peradventure with one, or two, or three at the most, when they have no strangers to accompany them at their tables. . . . At such times as the merchants do make their ordinary or voluntary feasts, it is a world to see what great provision is made of all manner of delicate meats, from every quarter of the country. . . . In such cases also jellies of all colours, mixed with a variety in the representation of sundry flowers, herbs, trees, forms of beasts, fish, fowls, and fruits, and thereunto marchpane wrought with no small curiosity, tarts of divers hues and sundry denomination, conserves of old fruits, foreign and home-bred, suckets . . . gingerbread, florentines, wild fowl, venison of all sorts, and sundry outlandish confections, altogether seasoned with sugar . . . do generally bear the sway. . . . And as all estates do exceed herein, I mean for strangeness and number of costly dishes, so these forget not to use the like excess in wine. . . . Neither do I mean this of small wines only, as Claret, White, Red, French, etc., which amount to about fifty-six sorts . . . but also of the thirty kinds of Italian, Grecian, Spanish, Canari, etc., whereof Vervage, Cate pument, Raspis, Muscadell, Romnie, Bastard, Tire, Oseie, Caprike, Clareie, and Malmeseie are not least of all accompted of, because of their strength and valour. For as I have

said in meat, so, the stronger the wine is, the more it is desired, by means whereof, in old time, the best was called *theologicum*, because it was had from the clergy and religious men, unto whose houses many of the laity would often send for bottles filled with the same, being sure they would neither drink nor be served of the worst, or such as was any way mingled or brewed by the vintner. . . .

The beer that is used at noblemen's tables in their fixed and standing houses is commonly a year old, or peradventure of two years' tunning or more; but this is not general. . . .

Both the artificer and the husbandman are sufficiently liberal, and very friendly at their tables; and, when they meet, they are so merry without malice, and plain without inward Italian or French craft and subtlety, that it would do a man good to be in company among them. Herein only are the inferior sort somewhat to be blamed, that, being thus assembled, their talk is now and then such as savoureth of scurrility and ribaldry, a thing naturally incident to carters and clowns, who think themselves not to be merry and welcome if their foolish veins in this behalf be never so little restrained. This is, moreover, to be added in these meetings, that if they happen to stumble upon a piece of venison and a cup of wine or very strong beer or ale (which latter they commonly provide against their appointed days), they think their cheer so great, and themselves to have fared so well, as the Lord Mayor of London, with whom, when their bellies be full, they will not often stick to make comparison, because that of a subject there is no public officer of any city in Europe that may compare in port and countenance with him during the time of his office. . . .

With us the nobility, gentry and students do ordinarily go to dinner at eleven before noon, and to supper at five, or between five and six at afternoon. The merchants dine

and sup seldom before twelve at noon, and six at night, especially in London.

The husbandmen dine also at high noon as they call it, and sup at seven or eight, but out of the term in our universities the scholars dine at ten. As for the poorest sort, they generally dine and sup when they may, so that to talk of their order of repast it were but a needless matter. I might here take occasion also to set down the variety used by antiquity in their beginnings of their diets, wherein almost every nation had a several fashion, some beginning of custom (as we do in summer time) with salads at supper, and some ending with lettuce, some making their entry with eggs, and shutting up their tables with mulberries, as we do with fruit and conceits of all sorts.

(7) *Clothing.*

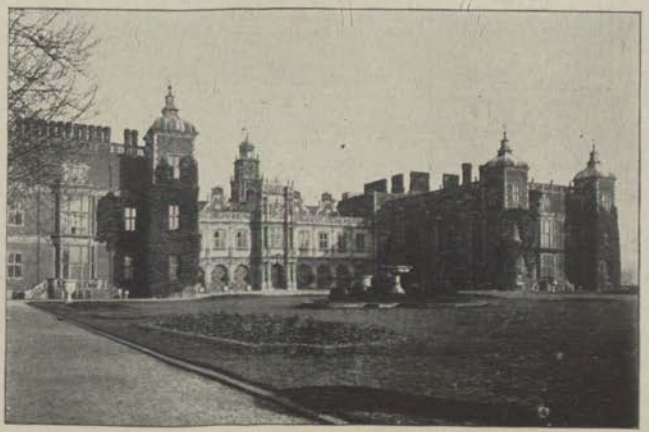
I can tell better how to inveigh against this enormity than describe any certainty of our attire; sithence such is our mutability that to-day there is none to the Spanish guise, to-morrow the French toys are most fine and delectable, ere long no such apparel as that which is after the high Alman fashion, by and by the Turkish manner is generally best liked of, otherwise the Morisco gowns, the Barbarian sleeves, the mandilion worn to Colley-Weston ward, and the short French breeches make such a comely vesture, that, except it were a dog in a doublet, you shall not see any so disguised as are my countrymen of England. And as these fashions are diverse, so likewise it is a world to see the costliness and the curiosity, the excess and the vanity, the pomp and the bravery, the change and the variety, and finally the fickleness and the folly, that is in all degrees, insomuch that nothing is more constant in England than inconstancy of attire. . . . How curious, how nice also, are a number of men and women, and how

hardly can the tailor please them in making it fit for their bodies! How many times must it be sent back again to him that made it! What chafing, what fretting, what reproachful language doth the poor workman bear away! And many times when he doth nothing to it at all, yet when it is brought home again it is very fit and handsome; then must we put it on, then must the long seams of our hose be set by a plumb-line, then we puff, then we blow, and finally sweat till we drop, that our clothes may stand well upon us. I will say nothing of our heads, which sometimes are polled, sometimes curled, or suffered to grow at length like woman's locks, many times cut off above or under the ears round as by a wooden dish. Neither will I meddle with our variety of beards, of which some are shaven from the chin like those of Turks, not a few cut short like to the beard of Marquess Otto, some made round like a rubbing brush, others with a *pique de vant* (O fine fashion!), or now and then suffered to grow long, the barbers being grown to be so cunning in this behalf as the tailors. And therefore if a man have a lean and straight face, a Marquess Otto's cut will make it broad and large; if it be platter-like, a long slender beard will make it seem the narrower; if he be weasel-becked, then much hair left on the cheeks will make the owner look big like a bowdled hen and so grim as a goose, if Cornels of Chelmersford say true. Many old men do wear no beards at all. Some lusty courtiers also and gentlemen of courage do wear either rings of gold, stones, or pearl in their ears, whereby they imagine the workmanship of God not to be a little amended. . . . In women also . . . what should I say of their doublets with pendant codpieces on the breast full of jags and cuts, and sleeves of sundry colours? Their galligascons . . . to make their attire to fit plum round (as they term it) about them. Their fardingals, and diversely coloured nether stocks of silk, jerdsey, and such

HERE LYETH BVRIED WILLIAM WADE OF THIS PISHE, AND ONE OF THE HEIGH COVNSTABLES OF THIS HVNDRED, WHO HAD TO WIFE ALICE BOGGIS, BY WHOME HE HAD SIXE CHILDREN LIVEINGE AT HIS DECEASE, TWOE SONNES VIZ. WILLIAM & ROBTE, & FOWER DAVGHTERS, VIZ ALICE, ANNE IOANE & MARY, AND DIED THE XIX DAY OF FEBRVARY, 1599

Brass of Alice Wade, 1599

Leicester Hospital, Warwick



Hatfield House

like. . . . I have met with some . . . in London so disguised that it hath passed my skill to discern whether they were men or women. . . .

Certes of all estates our merchants do least alter their attire, and therefore are most to be commended; for albeit that which they wear be very fine and costly, yet in form and colour it representeth a great piece of the ancient gravity appertaining to citizens and burgesses, albeit the younger sort of their wives, both in attire and costly housekeeping, cannot tell when and how to make an end. . . . I might here name a sort of hues devised for the nonce, wherewith to please fantastical heads, as . . . peas-porridge tawny, popingay blue, lusty gallant, the devil-in-the-head (I should say the hedge), and such like. . . . .

(8) *Houses and Furniture.*

The greatest part of our building in the cities and good towns of England consisteth only of timber; for as yet few of the houses of the commonalty (except here and there in the West country towns) are made of stone, although they may (in my opinion) in divers other places be builded so good cheap of the one as of the other. . . . Our houses are commonly strong and well timbered (so that in many places there are not above four, six or nine inches between stud and stud), so in the open and champaign countries they are forced, for want of stuff, to use no studs at all, but only frankposts, raisins, beans, prickposts, groundsels, summers (or dormants), transoms, and such principals, with here and there a girding, whereunto they fasten their splints, or raddles, and then cast it all over with thick clay to keep out the wind, which otherwise would annoy them. . . .

As every country house is thus apparelled on the outside, so it is inwardly divided into sundry rooms above and

beneath; and where plenty of wood is, they cover them with tiles, otherwise with straw, sedge or reed, except some quarry of slate be near hand, from whence they have for their money so much as may suffice them. The clay wherewith our houses are impannelled is either white, red or blue. . . . Within their doors also, such as are of ability do oft make their floors and parget of fine alabaster burned, which they call plaster of Paris. . . . In plastering . . we use to lay first a line or two of white mortar, tempered with hair upon laths, which are nailed one by another . . . and finally cover all with the aforesaid plaster. . . . The walls of our houses on the inner sides in like sort be either hanged with tapestry, arras work, or painted cloths, wherein either divers histories, or herbs, beasts, knots and such like are stained, or else they are ceiled with oak of our own, or wainscot brought hither out of the East countries. . . . As for stoves, we have not hitherto used them greatly, yet do they now begin to be made in divers houses of the gentry and wealthy citizens, who build them not to work and feed in, as in Germany and elsewhere, but now and then to sweat in, as occasion and need shall require it. . . .

Horn in windows is now quite laid down in every place, so our lattices are also grown into less use, because glass is come to be so plentiful, and within a very little so good cheap, if not better than the other. . . . Heretofore also the houses of our princes and noblemen were often glazed with beryl . . . and in divers other places with fine crystal. . . . But now these are not in use, so that only the clearest glass is most esteemed. . . .

Moreover, the mansion houses of our country towns and villages . . . are builded in such sort generally as that they have neither dairy, stable, nor brewhouse annexed unto them under the same roof (as in many places beyond the sea and some of the north parts of our country), but all separate from the first and one of them from another.

And yet, for all this, they are not so far distant in sunder but that the goodman lying in his bed may lightly hear what is done in each of them with ease, and call quickly unto his many, if any danger should attack him.

The ancient manors and houses of our gentlemen are yet and for the most part of strong timber, in framing whereof our carpenters have been and are worthily preferred before those of like science among all other nations. Howbeit such as be lately builded are commonly either of brick or hard stone, or both, their rooms large and comely, and houses of office further distant from their lodgings. . . .

The furniture of our houses also exceedeth, and is grown in manner even to passing delicacy: and herein I do not speak of the nobility and gentry only, but likewise of the lowest sort in most places of our south country that have anything at all to take to. Certes in noblemen's houses it is not rare to see abundance of arras, rich hangings of tapestry, silver vessel, and so much other plate as may furnish sundry cupboards to the sum oftentimes of a thousand or two thousand pounds at the least, whereby the value of this and the rest of their stuff doth grow to be almost inestimable. Likewise in the houses of knights, gentlemen, merchantmen, and some other wealthy citizens, it is not geson to behold generally their great provision of tapestry, Turkey work, pewter, brass, fine linen, and thereto costly cupboards of plate, worth five or six hundred or a thousand pounds to be deemed by estimation. But, as herein all these sorts do far exceed their elders and predecessors, and in neatness and curiosity the merchant all other, so in time past the costly furniture stayed there, whereas now it is descended yet lower even unto the inferior artificers and many farmers, who, by virtue of their old and not of their new leases, have, for the most part, learned also to furnish their cupboards with plate, their joined beds with tapestry and silk hangings and their tables

with carpets and fine napery, whereby the wealth of our country (God be praised therefore, and give us grace to employ it well) doth infinitely appear. . . .

There are old men yet dwelling in the village where I remain which have noted three things to be marvellously altered in England within their sound remembrance, and other three things too too much increased.

One is the multitude of chimneys lately erected, whereas in their young days there were not above two or three, if so many, in most uplandish towns of the realm (the religious houses and manor places of their lords always excepted, and peradventure some great personages), but each one made his fire against a reredos in the hall, where he dined and dressed his meat.

The second is the great (though not general) amendment of lodging; for said they, our fathers, yea and we ourselves also, have lain full oft upon straw pallets, or rough mats covered only with a sheet, under coverlets made of dogswain, and a good round log under their heads instead of a bolster or pillow. If it were so that our fathers—or the good man of the house—had within seven years after his marriage purchased a mattress or a flock bed and thereto a sack of chaff to rest his head upon, he thought himself to be as well lodged as the lord of the town that peradventure lay seldom in a bed of down or whole feathers, so well were they contented and with such bare kind of furniture. Pillows (said they) were thought meet only for women. . . . As for servants, if they had any sheet above them it was well, for seldom had they any under their bodies to keep them from the pricking straws that ran oft through the canvas of the pallet and rased their hardened hides.

The third thing they tell of is the exchange of vessel, as of treen platters into pewter and wooden spoons into silver or tin. . . .

They speak also of three things that are grown to be

very grievous unto them—to wit the enhancing of rents . . . the daily oppression of copyholders. . . . The third thing they talk of is usury, a trade brought in by the Jews, now perfectly practised almost by every Christian, and so commonly that he is accompted but for a fool that doth lend his money for nothing.

(9) *The Soil and Commodities of the Island.*

The soil of Britain is such as by the testimonies and reports both of the old and new writers, and experience also of such as now inhabit the same, is very fruitful, and such indeed as bringeth forth many commodities, whereof other countries have need. . . . Nevertheless it is more inclined to feeding and grazing than profitable for tillage and bearing of corn, by reason whereof the country is wonderfully replenished with meat and all kind of cattle; and such store is there also of the same in every place that the fourth part of the land is scarcely manured for the provision and maintenance of grain. . . .

There are also in this island great plenty of fresh rivers and streams, as you have heard already, and these thoroughly fraught with all kinds of delicate fish accustomed to be found in rivers. . . .

The pasture of this island is according to the nature and bounty of the soil, whereby in most places it is plentiful, very fine, batable, and such as either fatteth our cattle with speed or yieldeth great abundance of milk and cream whereof the yellowest butter and finest cheese are made. . . .

The yield of our corn-ground is also much after this rate following. Throughout the land (if you please to make an estimate thereof by the acre) in mean and indifferent years, wherein each acre of rye or wheat, well tilled and dressed will yield commonly sixteen or twenty bushels, an acre of barley six and thirty bushels, of oats and such like

four or five quarters, which proportion is notwithstanding oft abated toward the north, as it is oftentimes surmounted in the south. Of mixed corn, as peas and beans sown together, tares and oats (which they call bulmong), rye and wheat (named miscelin) . . . their yield is nevertheless much after this proportion. . . .

Of late years also we have found and taken up a great trade in planting of hops, whereof our moory hitherto and unprofitable grounds do yield such plenty and increase that there are few farmers or occupiers in the country which have not gardens and hops growing of their own, and these far better than do come from Flanders unto us. . . .

The cattle which we breed are commonly such as for greatness of bone, sweetness of flesh, and other benefits to be reaped by the same, give place unto none other; as may appear first by our oxen, whose largeness, height, weight, tallow, hides and horns are such as none of any other nation do commonly or may easily exceed them. Our sheep likewise, for good taste of flesh, quantity of limbs, fineness of fleece, give no place unto any, more than do our goats . . . and our deer not come behind. As for our conies, I have seen them so fat in some soils . . . that the grease of one being weighed hath very near six or seven ounces. . . .

I touch in this place one benefit which our nation wanteth, and that is wine, the fault whereof is not in our soil, but the negligence of our countrymen. . . . I muse not a little wherefore the planting of vines should be neglected in England.

Now our soil either will not, or at the leastwise may not, bear either woad or madder. . . . The like I may say of flax, which by law ought to be sown in every country town in England, more or less. . . .

Glass also hath been made here in great plenty before, and in the time of the Romans, and the said stuff also,

beside fine scissors, shears, collars of gold and silver for women's neck's, cruises and cups of amber, were a parcel of the tribute which Augustus in his days laid upon this island. . . .

We have in England great plenty of quicksilver, antimony, sulphur, blacklead, and orpiment red and yellow. We have also the finest alum . . . the natural cinnabarium or vermilion, the sulphurous glebe called bitumen in old time for mortar, and yet burned in lamps where oil is scant . . . the chrysocolla, copperas, and mineral stone, whereof petriolum is made, and that which is most strange, the mineral pearl. . . .

Of coal mines we have such plenty in the north and western parts of our island as may suffice for all the realm of England, and so must they do hereafter indeed, if wood be not better cherished than it is at this present. . . . Besides our coal mines, we have pits in like sort of white plaster and of fat and white and other coloured marl. . . . We have saltpetre for our ordinance and salt soda for our glass. . . .

Tin and lead . . . are very plentiful with us, the one in Cornwall, Devonshire and elsewhere in the north, the other in Derbyshire, Weredale and sundry places of this island.

Copper is lately not found, but rather restored again to light. . . .

As for our steel, it is not so good for edge-tools as that of Cologne, and yet the one is often sold for the other.

(10) *Wild and Tame Fowls.*

Order requireth that I speak somewhat of the fowls also of England, which I may easily divide into the wild and tame; but alas! such is my small skill in fowls that, to say the truth, I can neither recite their

numbers nor well distinguish one kind of them from another. . . . Of such therefore as are bred in our land, we have the crane, the bittern, the wild and tame swan, the bustard, the heron, curlew, snipe, wild goose, wind or doterell, brant lark, plover (of both sorts), lapwing, teal, widgeon, mallard, sheldrake, shoveller, peewit, seamew, barnacle, quail (who, only with man, are subject to the falling sickness), the knot, the oliet or olive, the dunbird, woodcock, partridge and pheasant, besides divers other . . .

Our tame fowl are such (for the most part) as are common both to us and to other countries, as cocks, hens, geese, ducks, peacocks of Ind, now a hurtful fowl by reason of their multitudes. . . .

It is strange to me to see or hear of geese to be led to the field like sheep; yet so it is, and their goose-herd carrieth a rattle of paper or parchment with him when he goeth about in the morning to gather his goslings together, the noise whereof cometh no sooner to their ears than they fall to goggling, and hasten to go with him. If it happen that the gates be not yet open, or that none of the house be stirring, it is ridiculous to see how they will peep under the doors, and never leave creaking and goggling till they be let out unto him to overtake their fellows. . . .

I would likewise intreat of other fowls which we repute unclean, as ravens, crows, pies, choughs, rooks, kites, jays, ringtails, starlings, woodspikes, woodnaws, etc. . . . It may be that some look for a discourse also of our other fowls in this place at my hand, as nightingales, thrushes, blackbirds, mavises, ruddocks, redstarts or dunocks, larks, tivits, king fishers, buntings, turtles (white or grey), linnets, bullfinches, goldfinches, washtails, cherrycrackers, yellow-hammers, fieldfares, etc.; but I should then spend more time upon them than is convenient. Neither will I speak of our costly and curious aviaries daily made for the better hearing of their melody, and observation of their natures. . . .

(11) *Savage Beasts and Vermin.*

It is none of the least blessing wherewith God hath endued this island that it is void of noisome beasts, as lions, bears, tigars, pardes, wolves, and such like, by means whereof our countrymen may travel in safety, and our herds and flocks remain for the most part abroad in the field without any herdman or keeper. . . .

Of foxes we have some, but no great store, and also badgers. . . . I might here intreat largely of other vermin, as the polecat, the miniver, the weasel, stoat, fulmart, squirrel, fitchew, and such like. . . .

Other pernicious beasts we have not, except you repute the great plenty of red and fallow deer whose colours are oft garled white and black, all white or all black, and store of conies amongst the hurtful sort. . . .

We have the adder (in our old Saxon tongue called an atter), which some men do not rashly take to be the viper. . . . I did see an adder once myself that lay (as I thought) sleeping on a molehill, out of whose mouth came eleven young adders of twelve or thirteen inches in length apiece, which played to and fro in the grass one with another, till some of them espied me. So soon therefore as they saw my face they ran again into the mouth of their dam, whom I killed. . . .

As we have great store of toads where adders commonly are found, so do frogs abound where snakes do keep their residence. We have also the slow worm, which is black and greyish of colour, and somewhat shorter than an adder. . . .

We have also efts, both of the land and water, and likewise the noisome swifts. . . . As for flies we have none that can do hurt or hindrance naturally unto any: for whether they be cut-waisted or whole-bodied, they are void of poison and all venomous inclination. The cut- or girt-waisted (for so I English the word insecta) are the

hornets, wasps, bees, and such like, whereof we have great store. . . .

Our honey also is taken and reputed to be the best, because it is harder, better wrought, and cleanlier vesselled up than that which cometh from beyond the sea. . . . Our hives are made commonly of rye straw and wattled about with bramble quarters; but some make the same of wicker, and cast them over with clay. . . .

As for the whole-bodied . . . have we beetles, horse-flies, . . . the locust or the grasshopper . . . and such like, whereof let other intreat that make an exercise in catching of flies, but a far greater sport in offering them to spiders, as did Domitian sometime, and another prince yet living, who delighted so much to see the jolly combats betwixt a stout fly and an old spider, that divers men have had great rewards given them for their painful provision of flies made only for this purpose.

(12) *The Court.*

The court of England, which necessarily is holden always where the prince lieth, is in these days one of the most renowned and magnificent courts that are to be found in Europe. For, whether you regard the rich and infinite furniture of household, order of officers, or the entertainment of such strangers as daily resort unto the same, you shall not find many equal thereunto, much less one excelling it in any manner of wise. I might here (if I would, or had sufficient disposition of matter concerned of the same) make a large discourse of such honourable posts, of such grave councellors, and noble personages, as give their daily attendance upon the queen's majesty there.

I could in like sort set forth a singular commendation of the virtuous beauty or beautiful virtues of such ladies and gentlewomen as wait upon her person, between whose amiable

countenances and costliness of attire there seemeth to be such a daily conflict and contention as that it is very difficult for me to guess whether of the twain shall bear away the preëminence. This further is not to be omitted, to the singular commendation of both sorts and sexes of our courtiers here in England, that there are very few of them which have not the use and skill of sundry speeches, besides an excellent vein of writing beforetime not regarded. Would to God the rest of their lives and conversation were correspondent to these gifts! For as our common courtiers (for the most part) are the best learned and endued with excellent gifts, so are many of them the worst men when they come abroad that any man shall either hear or read of. Truly it is a rare thing with us now, to hear of a courtier which hath but his own language. And to say how many gentlewomen and ladies there are that besides sound knowledge of the Greek and Latin tongues are thereto no less skilful in the Spanish, Italian and French, or in some one of them, it resteth not in me, sith I am persuaded that, as the noblemen and gentlemen do surmount in this behalf so these come very little or nothing at all behind them for their parts, which industry God continue, and accomplish that which otherwise is wanting.

Besides these things I could in like sort set down the ways and means whereby our ancient ladies of the court do shun and avoid idleness, some of them exercising their fingers with the needle, others in caulwork, divers in spinning of silk, some in continual reading either of the Holy Scriptures, or histories of our own or foreign nations about us and divers in writing volumes of their own, or translating other men's into English. . . . How many of the eldest sort also are skilful in surgery and distillation of waters, besides sundry other artificial practices pertaining to the ornature and commendation of their bodies, I might (if I listed to deal further in this behalf) easily declare; but

I pass over such manner of dealing, lest I should seem to curry favour with some of them. Nevertheless this I will generally say of them all, that as each of them are cunning in something whereby they keep themselves occupied in the court so there is in manner none of them but when they be at home can help to supply the ordinary want of the kitchen with a number of delicate dishes of their own devising. . . .

To avoid idleness and prevent sundry transgression otherwise likely to be committed and done, such order is taken that every office hath either a Bible, or the books of the Acts and Monuments of the Church of England, or both, besides some histories and chronicles lying therein, for the exercise of such as come into the same; whereby the stranger that entereth into the court of England upon the sudden shall rather imagine himself to come into some public school of the universities, where many give ear to one that readeth, than unto a prince's palace, if you compare the same with those of other nations. Would to God all honourable personages would take example of her grace's godly dealing in this behalf, and shew their conformity unto these her so good beginnings! . . .

I might speak here of the great trains and troops of serving men also which attend upon the nobility of England in their several liveries and with differences of cognisances on their sleeves, whereby it is known to whom they appertain. I could also set down what a goodly sight it is to see them muster in the court, which, being filled with them, doth yield the contemplation of a noble variety unto the beholder, much like to the shew of the peacock's tail in the full beauty, or of some meadow garnished with infinite kinds and diversities of pleasant flowers.

(13) *Armour and Munition.*

In times past the chief force of England consisted in

their long bows. But now we have in manner generally given over that kind of artillery, and for longbows indeed do practice to short compass for our pastime: which kind of shooting can never yield any smart stroke, nor beat down our enemies, as our countrymen were wont to do at every time of need. Certes, the Frenchmen and Rutters, deriding our new archery in respect of their corselets, will not let, in open skirmish, if any leisure serve, to turn up their tails and cry "Shoot English!" and all because our strong shooting is decayed and laid in bed. . . . But as our shooting is thus in manner utterly decayed among us one way, so our countrymen wax skilful in sundry other points, as in shooting in small pieces, the caliver, the handling of the pike, in the several uses whereof they are become very expert.

Our armour differeth not from that of other nations, and therefore consisteth of corselets, almaine rivets, shirts of mail, jacks quilted and covered over with leather, fustian, or canvas, over thick plates of iron that are sewed in the same, and of which there is no town or village that hath not her convenient furniture. The said armour and munition likewise is kept in one several place of every town, appointed by the consent of the whole parish, where it is always ready to be had and worn within an hour's warning. Sometimes also it is occupied when it pleaseth the magistrate either to view the able men, and take note of the well keeping of the same, or finally to see those that are enrolled to exercise each one his several weapon, at the charge of the townsmen of each parish, according to his appointment. Certes there is almost no village, so poor in England (be it never so small) that hath not sufficient furniture in a readiness to set forth three or four soldiers, as one archer, one gunner, one pike, and a billman at the least. No, there is not so much wanting as their very liveries and caps, which are least to be accounted of, if

any haste [is] required: so that, if this good order may continue, it shall be impossible for the sudden enemy to find us unprovided. As for able men for service, thanked be God! we are not without good store; for by the musters taken in 1574 and 1575, our number amounted to 1,172,674, and yet were they not so narrowly taken but that a third part of this like multitude was left unbilled and uncalled. What store of munition and armour the queen's majesty had in her storehouses it lieth not in me to yield account, sith I suppose the same to be infinite. And whereas it was commonly said after the loss of Calais that England should never recover the store of ordinance there left and lost, that same is at this time proved false, sith even some of the same persons do now confess that this land was never better furnished with these things in any king's days that reigned since the Conquest.

The names of our greatest ordinance are commonly these: *Robinet*, whose weight is two hundred pounds; and it hath one inch and a quarter within the mouth; *Falconet*, weigheth five hundred pounds, and his wideness is two inches within the mouth; *Falcon*, hath eight hundred pounds, and two inches and a half within the mouth; *Minion* poiseth eleven hundred pounds, and hath three inches and a quarter within the mouth; [*Sacre*, *Demi-Culverin*, *Culverin*, *Demi-Cannon* are then described], *Cannon*, seven thousand pounds, and seven inches within the mouth; *E. Cannon*, eight thousand pounds, and seven inches within the mouth; *Basilisk*, nine thousand pounds, eight inches and three quarters within the mouth. . . .

I might here take just occasion to speak of the prince's armories, but what shall it need? sith the whole realm is her armory, and therefore her furniture infinite. . . .

Seldom shall you see any of my countrymen above eighteen or twenty years old to go without a dagger at the least at his back or by his side, although they be aged

burgesses or magistrates of any city who in appearance are most exempt from brabling and contention. Our nobility wear commonly swords or rapiers with their daggers as doth every common serving man also that followeth his lord and master. . . .

Finally no man travelleth by the way without his sword, or some such weapon, with us, except the minister, who commonly weareth none at all, unless it be a dagger or hanger at his side. . . .

(14) *England's Navy.*

If you regard the form and the assurance from peril, of the sea and therewithal the strength and nimbleness of such [vessels] as are made in our time, you shall easily find that ours are of more value than theirs. For as the greatest vessel is not always the safest, so that of most huge capacity is not always the aptest to shift, and brook the seas: as might be seen by the *Great Henry*, the hugest vessel that ever England framed in our times. Neither were the ships of old like unto ours in mould and manner of building above the water (for of low galleys in our seas we make small account) nor so full of ease within, since time hath engendered more skill in the wrights, and brought all things to more perfection than they had in the beginning. . . .

The navy of England may be divided into three sorts, of which the one serveth for the wars, the other for burden, and the third for fishermen which get their living by fishing on the sea. How many of the first order are maintained within the realm it passeth my cunning to express. . . . Certes there is no prince in Europe that hath a more beautiful or gallant sort of ships than the queen's majesty of England at this present, and those generally are of such exceeding force that two of them, being well appointed

and furnished as they ought, will not let to encounter with three or four of those of other countries, and either bowge them to put them to flight, if they may not bring them home. . . .

The common report that strangers make of our ships amongst themselves is daily confirmed to be true, which is, that for strength, assurance, nimbleness, and swiftness of sailing, there are no vessels in the world to be compared with ours. . . .

The queen's highness hath at this present which is the four-and-twentieth year of her reign, already made and furnished to the number of four-and-twenty great ships, which lie for the most part in Gillingham Road, besides three galleys, of whose particular names and furniture (so far forth as I can come by them) it shall not be amiss to make report at this time.

The names of so many ships belonging to her majesty as I could come by at this present:

The Bonadventure.	*Foresight.*
Elizabeth Jonas.	*Swift Suit.*
White Bear.	*Aid.*
Philip and Mary.	*Handmaid.*
Triumph.	*Dreadnought.*
Bull.	*Swallow.*
Tiger.	*Genet.*
Antelope.	*Bark of Bullen.*
Hope.	*Achates.*
Lion.	*Falcon.*
Victory.	*George.*
Mary Rose.	*Revenge.*

Besides these, her grace hath other in hand also. . . . She hath likewise three notable galleys: the *Speedwell* the *Try Right*, and the *Black Galley*, with the sight

whereof and the rest of the navy royal, it is incredible to say how greatly her grace is delighted: and not without great cause (I say) since by their means her coasts are kept in quiet and sundry foreign enemies put back, which otherwise would invade us. . . .

If the report of one record be anything at all to be credited, there are 135 ships that exceed 500 ton; topmen under 100 and above forty, 656; hoys, 100; but of hulks, catches, fisherboats and crayres, it lieth not in me to deliver the just account, since they are hardly to come by. . . .

I might take occasion to tell of the notable and difficult voyages made into strange countries by Englishmen, and of their daily success there; but as these things are nothing incident to my purpose, so I surcease to speak of them. . . .

For the journeys also of our ships, you shall understand that a well-builded vessel will run or sail commonly three hundred leagues or nine hundred miles in a week, or peradventure some will go 2,200 leagues in six weeks and a half. . . . There be of them that will be here, at the West Indies, and home again in twelve or thirteen weeks from Colchester, although the said Indies be eight hundred leagues from the cape or point of Cornwall, as I have been informed.

(15) *Kinds of Punishment.*

In cases of felony, manslaughter, robbery, murder, rape, piracy, and such capital crimes as are not reputed for treason or hurt of the estate, our sentence pronounced upon the offender is, to hang till he be dead. . . .

The greatest and most grievous punishment used in England for such as offend against the State is drawing from the prison to the place of execution upon a hurdle

or sled, where they are hanged till they be half dead and then taken down and quartered alive. . . .

And whensoever any of the nobility are convicted of high treason by their peers, that is to say, equals, this manner of their death is converted into the loss of their heads only, notwithstanding that their sentence do run after the former order. . . .

If a woman poison her husband, she is burned alive; if a servant kill his master, he is to be executed for petty treason; he that poisoneth a man is to be boiled to death in water or lead. . . . Perjury is punished by the pillory, burning in the forehead with the letter P. . . . Rogues are burned through the ears; carriers of sheep out of the land by the loss of their hands. . . .

Witches are hanged or sometimes burned; but thieves are hanged . . . generally on the gibbet or gallows, saving in Halifax, where they are beheaded in a strange manner.

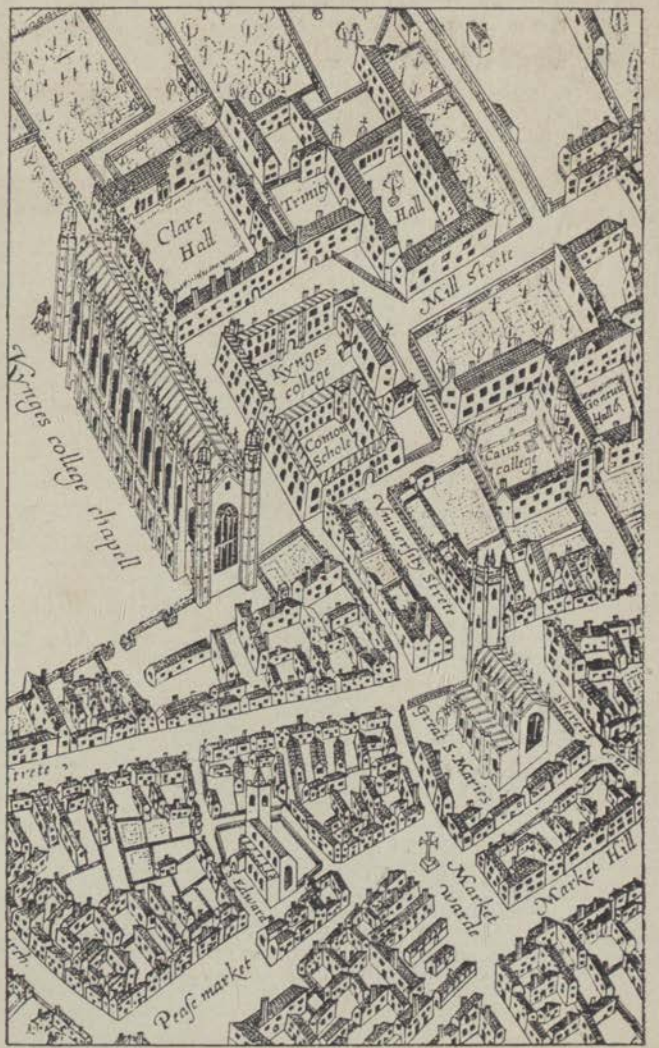
Rogues and vagabonds are often stocked and whipped; scolds are ducked upon cucking-stools in the water. . . .

(16) *Universities and Schools.*

Oxford (which lieth west and by north from London) standeth most pleasantly, being environed in manner round about with woods on the hills aloft, and goodly rivers in the bottoms and valleys beneath, whose courses would breed no small commodity to that city and country about, if such impediments were removed as greatly annoy the same and hinder the carriage which might be made thither also from London. That of Cambridge is distant from London about forty and six miles north and by east, and standeth very well, saving that it is somewhat near unto the fens; whereby the wholesomeness of the air is not a little corrupted. It is excellently well served with all kinds of provision, but especially

here lyeth John Wingfeld of Elton esquyer one
of the sonnes of Thomas Wingfeld late of
greate Dunham in the county of Norff esquier
which sayd John Wingfeld dyed and was
buryed in the moneth of January and in the
yeare of our Lord God .1584.

Brass of John Wingfield, 1584



Cambridge in 1592

of fresh water fish and wild fowl, by reason of the river that passeth thereby; and thereto the Isle of Ely, which is so near at hand. Only wood is the chief want to such as study there, wherefore this kind of provision is brought them either from Essex and other places thereabouts, as is also their coal, or otherwise the necessity thereof is supplied with gall . . . and seacoal whereof they have great plenty led thither by the Grant. . . .

The colleges of Oxford for curious workmanship and private commodities are much more stately, magnificent, and commodious than those of Cambridge: and thereunto the streets of the town for the most part are more large and comely. But for uniformity of building, orderly compaction and politic regiment the town of Cambridge, as the newer workmanship exceeds that of Oxford (which otherwise is, and hath been, the greater of the two) by many a fold (as I guess), although I know divers that are of the contrary opinion. . . .

In all other things there is so great equality between these two universities as no man can imagine how to set down any greater. . . .

In some one college you shall have two hundred scholars, in others one hundred and fifty, in divers a hundred and forty, and in the rest less numbers, as the capacity of the said houses is able to receive: so that at this present, of one sort and other, there are about three thousand students nourished in them both. . . .

They were erected by their founders at the first only for poor men's sons, whose parents were not able to bring them up unto learning; but now they have the least benefit of them by reason the rich do so encroach upon them. And so far has this inconvenience spread itself that it is in my time a hard matter for a poor man's child to come by a fellowship (though he be never so good a scholar and worthy of that room). . . .

In some grammar schools likewise which send scholars to these universities it is lamentable to see what bribery is used; for ere the scholar can be preferred, such bribage is made, that poor men's children are commonly shut out, and the richer sort received (who in time past thought it dishonour to live as it were upon alms), and yet being placed, most of them study little other than histories, tables, dice, and trifles. . . .

Everyone of these colleges have in like manner their professors or readers of the tongues and several sciences. . . . Moreover, in the public schools of both the universities, there are found at the prince's charge (and that very largely) five professors and readers, that is to say, of divinity, of the civil law, physic, the Hebrew and the Greek tongues. And for the other lectures, as of philosophy, logic, rhetoric, and the quadrivials (although the latter, I mean arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy, and with them all skill in the perspectives, are now smally regarded in either of them), the universities themselves do allow competent stipends to such as read the same, whereby they are sufficiently provided for, touching the maintenance of their estates and no less encouraged to be diligent in their functions. . . .

Thus we see that from our entrance into the university unto the last degree received is commonly eighteen or peradventure twenty years, in which time, if a student has not obtained sufficient learning thereby to serve his own turn and benefit his commonwealth, let him never look by tarrying longer to come by any more. . . .

To these two also we may in like sort add the third, which is at London (serving only for such as study the laws of the realm) where there are sundry famous houses, of which three are called by the name of Inns of the Court, the rest of the Chancery, and all built before time for the furtherance and commodity of such as apply their minds to our common laws. . . .

Besides these universities also there are great number of grammar schools throughout the realm, and those very liberally endowed, for the better relief of poor scholars, so that there are not many corporate towns now under the queen's domain that have not one grammar school at the least, with a sufficient living for a master and usher appointed to the same.

There are in like manner divers collegiate churches, as Windsor, Winchester, Eton, Westminster (in which I was some time an unprofitable grammarian under the reverend father Master Nowell, now dean of Paul's), and in those a great number of poor scholars, daily maintained by the liberality of the founders, with meat, books, and apparel, from whence, after they have been well entered in the knowledge of the Latin and Greek tongues and rules of versifying, they are sent to certain special houses in each university where they are received and trained up in the points of higher knowledge in their private halls. . . .

22. A BRIDAL PROCESSION [1570]

SOURCE: *History of Jack of Newbury*, as quoted in the Notes of Dr Furnivall in his edition of *Robert Laneham's Letter*. Ballad Society, 1890.

The bride being attired in a gown of sheep's russet, and a kirtle of fine worsted, attired with a'billement of gold, and her hair as yellow as gold, hanging down behind her, which was curiously combed and plaited, she was led to church between two sweet boys, with bride laces and rosemary tied about their silken sleeves. There was a fair bride-cup of silver gilt carried before her, wherein was a goodly branch of rosemary, gilded very fair, hung about with silken ribands of all colours. Musicians came next, then a group of maidens, some bearing great bride-cakes, others garlands of wheat finely gilded; and thus they passed unto the church.

23. A DAY IN THE LIFE OF ROBERT LANEHAM [1575]

SOURCE: *Robert Laneham's Letter*, as edited by Dr Furnivall. Ballad Society, 1890. Spelling modernised.

A-mornings I rise ordinarily at seven o'clock. Then ready, I go into the Chapel: soon after eight, I get me commonly into my Lord's Chamber, or into my Lord President's. There, at the cupboard, after I have eaten the manchet,[1] served over-night for livery, (for I dare be as bold, I promise you, as any of my friends the servants there: and indeed, could I have fresh if I would tarry: but I am of wont jolly and dry a-mornings) I drink me up a good bowl of Ale: when in a sweet pot it is defecated [freed from dregs] by all night's standing, the drink is the better; take that of me: and a morsel in a morning, with a sound draught, is very wholesome and good for the eyesight. Then I am as fresh all the forenoon after as had I eaten a whole piece of beef. Now, sir, if the Council sit, I am at hand, wait at an inch, I warrant you. If any make babbling, "Peace!" (say I) "Wot ye where ye are?" If I catch a listener, or a prier in at the chinks or at the lock hole, I am by and bye in the bones of him [giving him a dig in the ribs]; but now they keep good order; they know me well enough: if he be a friend or such one as I like, I make him sit down by me on a form or a chest: let the rest walk, a God's name! And here doth my languages now and then stand me in good stead, my French, my Spanish, my Dutch, and my Latin, sometime among Ambassadors' men, if their Master be within the Council, sometimes with the Ambassador himself, if he bid me call his lackey, or ask me what's o'clock: and I warrant ye I answer him roundly, that they marvel to see such a fellow there: then laugh I, and say nothing. Dinner and supper I have twenty places to go to and heartily

[1] A loaf of bread served out overnight as livery or allowance.

prayed to. And sometimes get I to Master Pinner, by my faith a worshipful Gentleman, and as careful for his charge as any her Highness hath: there find I always good store of very good viands: we eat and be merry, thank God and the Queen! Himself in feeding very temperate and moderate as ye shall see any: and yet by your leave, of a dish—as a cold pigeon or so, that hath come to him at meat, more than he looked for,—I have seen him even so by and bye surfeited, as he hath plucked off his napkin, wiped his knife, and eat not a morsel more: like enough to stick in his stomach a two days after. . . . In afternoons and a nights, sometimes am I with the right worshipful Sir George Howard, as good a gentleman as any likes: and sometimes at my good Lady Sidney's chamber, a Noblewoman that I am as much bound unto, as any poor man may be unto so gracious a Lady. And sometime in some other place; but always among the Gentlewomen by my good will (O, ye know that comes always of a gentle spirit); and when I see company according, then can I be as lively too. Sometimes I foot it with dancing; now with my Gittern,[1] and else with my Cittern,[2] then at the Virginals[3]—ye know nothing comes amiss to me—then carol I up a song withal, that by and bye they come flocking about me like bees to honey: and ever they cry, "Another, good Laneham, another!" . . . By my truth, countryman, it is sometime by midnight ere I can get from them. And thus have I told ye most of my trade, all the live-long day: what will ye more? God save the Queen and my Lord! I am well, I thank you.

[1] Guitar.
[2] Shaped like a guitar, but with wire strings.
[3] The forerunner of the modern upright piano.

24. THE EDUCATION OF ROBERT LANEHAM [1575]

SOURCE: As previous extract.

Herewith meant I fully to bid ye farewell, had not this doubt come to my mind, that here remains a doubt in you which I ought (me thought) in any ways to clear: which is, ye marvel perchance to see me so bookish. Let me tell you in a few words: I went to school forsooth both at St Pauls' and also at Saint Anthony's: in the fifth form, past Æsop's Fables I was, read Terence: "Vos istaec intro auferte": and began my Virgil: "Tytire tu patulae." I knew my rules, could construe and parse with the best of them. Since that, as partly ye know, have I traded the feat of merchandise in sundry countries, and so got me languages, which do so little hinder my Latin, as (I thank God) have much increased it. I have leisure sometime, when I tend not upon the council; whereby, now look I on one book, now on another. Stories I delight in, the more ancient and rare, the more likesome to me. If I told ye, I liked William of Malmesbury so well, because of his diligence and antiquity, perchance ye would construe it because I love Malmsey so well: but in faith! it is not so, for sipped I no more sack and sugar (and yet never but with company) than I do Malmsey, I should not blush so much a days as I do: ye know my mind. Well now! thus fare ye heartily well! i' faith! if with wishing it could have been, ye had had a book or two this summer; but we shall come nearer shortly, and then shall we merely meet; and grace a God! in the meantime commend me, I beseech you, unto my good friends, almost most of them your neighbours, Master Alderman Pullison, a special friend of mine; and in any wise, to my good old friend Master Smith, Customer [collector of Customs], by that same token, "Set my horse up to the rack and then let's have a cup of sack!" He knows the token well enough and will laugh,

I hold ye a groat. To Master Thorogood, and to my merry companion (a Mercer, ye wot, as we be) Master Denman, "Mio fratello in Christo": he is wont to summon me by the name of "Ro. La. of the County Nosingham,[1] Gentleman." A good companion, i' faith! Well once again, fare ye heartily well? From the Court. At the City of Worcester, the XX of August 1575.

Your countryman, companion and friend assuredly: Mercer, Merchant-adventurer, and Clerk of the Council-chamber door, and also keeper of the same: El Principe Negro. Par me, R. L. gent. Mercer.

25. REVELS AT KENILWORTH [1575]

SOURCE: As previous extract.

Music and Dancing.

On Sunday the forenoon occupied (as for the Sabbath day) in quiet and vacation from work, and in divine service and preaching at the parish church. The afternoon in excellent music of sundry sweet instruments, and in dancing of Lords and Ladies, and other worshipful degrees, uttered with such lively agility and commendable grace, as, whether it might be more strange to the eye, or pleasant to the mind, for my part indeed I could not discern: but excellently well was it (methought) in both.

Fireworks.

At night late, as though Jupiter the last night had forgot for business, or forborn for courtesy and quiet, part of his welcome unto her highness [Queen Elizabeth] appointed: now entering at the first into his purpose moderately (as mortals do) with a warning piece or two, proceeding on with increase; at last the Altitonant displays me his main power: with blaze of burning darts, flying

[1] A quiz on the colour of Laneham's nose, which apparently "blushed" in sympathy with his cheeks.

to and fro, leams of stars coruscant, streams and hails of fiery sparks, lightnings of wild fire on water and land, flight and shoot of thunderbolts; all with such countenance, terror, and vehemence, that the heavens thundered, the waters surged, the earth shook, and in such sort surely, as, had we not been assured the thunderful deity was all hot in amity, and could not otherwise witness his welcoming unto her highness, it would have made me for my part, as hardy as I am, very vengeably afeard. This ado lasted while the midnight was past. . . .

Deer-hunting.

Munday was hot; therefore her highness kept in till five o'clock in the evening: what time it pleased her to ride forth into the chase to hunt the Hart . . . which found anon, and after sore chase, and chafed by the hot pursuit of the hounds, was fain, of fine strength, at last to take soil.[1] There to behold the swift fleeting of the deer in front, with the stately carriage of his head in his swimming, spred (for the quantity) like the sail of a ship: the hounds harrowing after, as they had been a number of skiffs to the spoil of the carvel[2]; the one no less eager in purchase of his prey, than was the other in safeguard of his life: so as the earning[3] of the hounds in continuance of their cry, the swiftness of the Deer, the running of footmen, the galloping of horses, the blasting of horns, the halloing and shouts of the huntsmen, with the excellent echoes between whiles from the woods and waters in valleys resounding, moved pastime delightful to so high a degree, as for any person to take pleasure by most senses at once; in my opinion there can be no one way comparable to this, and especially in this place, that of nature is formed . . . for the purpose. . . . Well, the hart was killed, a goodly deer.

[1] *i.e.* to run to water.
[2] A vessel of about 140 tons burthen.
[3] Baying.

Bear-baiting.

A great sort of bandogs [a kind of mastiff] were there tied in the outer court, and thirteen bears in the inner . . . the bears were brought forth into the court, the dogs set to them . . . very fierce both the one and the other and eager in argument. If the dog would pluck the bear by the throat, the bear would claw him again by the scalp. . . . Thus with plucking and tugging, scratching and biting, by plain tooth and nail on one side and the other, such expense of blood and leather was there between them, as a month's licking (I ween) will not recover. . . . It was a sport very pleasant, of these beasts: to see the bear with his pink eyes leering after his enemy's approach, the nimbleness and watch of the dog to take his advantage, and the force and experience of the bear again to avoid the assaults: if he were bitten in one place, how he would pinch in another to get free: that if he were taken once, then what shift, with biting, with clawing, with roaring, tossing and tumbling, he would work to wind himself from them: and when he was loose, to shake his ears twice or thrice with the blood and the saliva about his face, was a matter of a goodly relief. . . .

An Italian Acrobat.

In the meantime was there shown before her highness, by an Italian, such feats of agility in goings, turnings, tumblings, castings, hops, jumps, leaps, skips, springs, gambols, somersaults, capers, and flights: forward, backward, sideways, down, up, and with sundry windings, gyrings and circumflexions: also lightly and with such ease, as by me in few words it is not expressible by pen or speech, I tell you plain. I blessed me, by my faith, to behold him, and began to doubt whether he was a man or a spirit. . . .

26. THE LIBRARY OF CAPTAIN COX [1575]

SOURCE: As previous extract.

But beware, keep back, make room now, here they come!

And first, Captain Cox, an odd man I promise you: by profession a Mason, and that right skilful, very cunning in fencing, and hardy as Gawin; for his tonsword [? one-handed sword] hangs at his table's end; great oversight hath he in matters of story: for, as for

I. King Arthur's book. [Malory's *Morte Darthur*.]

II. Huon of Bourdeaux. [A translation by Lord Berners of a French romance.]

III. The four sons of Aymon. [A translation by Caxton of a French romance.]

IV. Bevis of Hampton. [A French romance.]

V. The Squire of Low Degree. [A poem.]

VI. The Knight of Courtesy and the Lady Faguell. [A metrical romance.]

VII. Frederick of Jennen. [A tract.]

VIII. Sir Eglamore. [A romance.]

IX. Sir Triamore. [A romance.]

X. Sir Lamwell. [A romance.]

XI. Sir Isumbras. [A romance.]

XII. Sir Gawain. [A romance.]

XIII. Oliver of the Castle. [A Spanish romance.]

XIV. Lucrece and Eurialus. [A Latin romance written by Pope Pius II.]

XV. Virgil's Life. [Not Virgil the Latin poet, but Virgil the magician.]

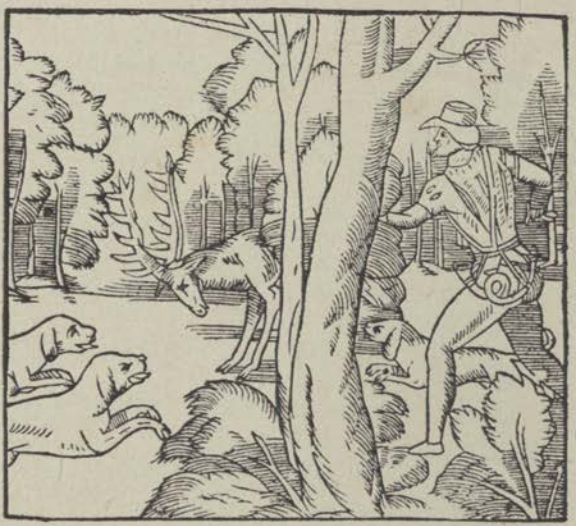
XVI. The Castle of Ladies.

XVII. The Widow Edith. [A poem.]

XVIII. The King and the Tanner. [A short story.]

XIX. Friar Rush. [A tale "full of pleasant mirth and delight for young people."]

XX. Howleglas. [A merry jest of a man called Howleglas.]



Hunting in Elizabeth's time

Here begynneth a mery gest of the frere and the boye.

GOd that dyed for vs all
And dranke bothe eysell and gall
Bryng vs out of bale
And gyue them good lyfe & longe
That lysteneth to my songe
Or tendeth to my tale
There dwelled an husbonde in my countre
That had wyues thre.
By processe of tyme
By the fyrst wyfe a sone he had
That was a good sturdy ladde
And an happy hyne
His fader loued hym wele
So dyde his moder neuer a dele
I tell you as I thynke
All the thought was lost by the rode
That dyde the lytell boye ony good
Other mete or drynke.

A.i.

A page from *The Friar and the Boy*

XXI. Gargantua. [A romance translated from Rabelais.]

XXII. Robin Hood.

XXIII. Adam Bell, Clim of the Clough, and William of Cloudesley. [A ballad dealing with three bold outlaws of the North.]

XXIV. The Churl and the Bird. [A popular poem by Lydgate.]

XXV. The Seven Wise Masters. [A collection of stories done also in verse under the title of "The Seven Sages."]

XXVI. The Wife wrapped in a Morell's skin. [An amusing old poem dealing with the Charming or Taming of a Shrew: Morell was a blind old horse, in whose salted skin the husband places his shrewish wife, which makes her smart.]

XXVII. The Sackfull of News. [A story and jest book.]

XXVIII. The Sergeant that became a Friar. [A poem said to have been written by Sir Thomas More.]

XXIX. Scogin. [A book of jests.]

XXX. Colin Clout. [A satire by Skelton, poet-laureate to Henry VIII., against Cardinal Wolsey.]

XXXI. The Friar and the Boy. [A merry and popular poem.]

XXXII. Eleanor Rumming. [A poem by Skelton giving a life-like picture of a Surrey ale-wife of the time of Henry VIII.]

XXXIII. The Nut Brown Maid. [See Vol. II. p. 101.]

With many more than I rehearse here: I believe he has them all at his finger ends.

Then in Philosophy, both moral and natural, I think he be as naturally overseen [well-learned]: beside poetry and astronomy and other hid sciences, as I may guess by the omberty [? shadowing] of his books: whereof part as I remember:—

XXXIV. The Shepherd's Calendar. [A handbook of Popular Philosophy.]

XXXV. The Ship of Fools. [A satire.]

XXXVI. Daniel's Dreams. [An astrological treatise.]

XXXVII. The Book of Fortune. [A verse tract supposed to have been written by Sir Thomas More.]

XXXVIII. Stans Puer ad Mensam. [Lydgate's translation of a Latin poem on how a youth should behave at meals.]

XXXIX. The High-way to the Hospital. [A sketch of the rogues, etc., who resorted to St Bartholomew's Hospital.]

XL. Julian of Brainford's Testament. [A poem which exposes the vices and follies of Henry VIII.'s time.]

XLI. The Castle of Love. [A Spanish romance.]

XLII. The Budget of Demands. [A series of questions and answers.]

XLIII. The Hundred Merry Tales. [A Text-book alluded to by Shakespeare in his *Much Ado About Nothing*.]

XLIV. The Book of Riddles.

XLV. The Seven Sorrows of Women. [A series of poems.]

XLVI. The Proud Wife's Paternoster. [A satirical poem.]

XLVII. The Chapman of a Pennyworth of Wit. [A poem.]

Besides his ancient plays :—

XLVIII. Youth and Charity.

XLIX. Hycke scorner.

L. New Guise.

LI. Impatient Poverty.

And herewith :—

LII. Doctor Boorde's Breviary of Health. [A medicinal treatise.]

What should I rehearse here, what a bunch of ballads and songs, all ancient : As :—

LIII. Broom, broom on hill.

LIV. So well is me begone, troly lo !

LV. Over a whinny, Meg.

LVI. Hey ding a ding.
LVII. Bonny lass upon a green.
LVIII. My bonny one gave me a kiss.
LIX. By a bank as I lay.

And a hundred more, he hath, fair wrapped up in parchment, and bound with a whipcord.

And as for almanacs of antiquity (a point for Ephemerides) I ween he can show from (LX.) Jasper Laet of Antwerp, unto (LXI.) Nosterdame of France and thence unto our (LXII.) John Securis of Salisbury. To stay ye no longer herein, I dare say he hath as fair a library for these sciences, and as many goodly monuments both in prose and poetry, and at afternoons can talk as much without book, as any Innholder betwixt Brainford and Bagshot, what degree soever he be.

Besides this, in the field a good Marshal at musters: of very great credit and trust in the town here, for he has been chosen Ale-conner [an officer of the Court-Leet, sworn to look after the Goodness of Bread, Ale and Beer] many a year, when his betters have stood by: and ever acquitted himself with such estimation, as yet to the taste of a cup of Nippitate [strong ale], his judgment will be taken above the best in the parish, be his nose near so red.

27. A SYSTEM OF ENGLISH PHONETICS [*circa* 1580]

SOURCE: Camden, *Remains concerning Britain.*

Sir Thomas Smith, her Majestie's Secretary not long since, a man of great learning and judgment, occasioned by some uncertainty of our Orthography, though it seemed grounded upon sound Reason and Custom, laboured to reduce it to certain heads. Seeing that whereas of Necessity there must be so many letters in every tongue as there are simple and single sounds, that the Latine letters were not sufficient to express all our simple sounds; there-

fore he wished that we should have A short and A long, because *a* in Man, and in *Mân* of horse, hath different sounds; E long, as in *Mên*, moderate; and *e* short, as in Men, and an English *e* as in wee, thee, be, me; I long and I short, as in Bi, *per* [the Latin preposition], and Bi, *emere* [the Latin verb "to buy"];[1] O short and O long, as in smoke [smock] of a woman, and smoke of the fire; *U* long as in But, *Ocrea* [Latin for "boot"], and *U* short, as in But, *Sed* [Latin conj. "but"]; and u for y Greek, as flu, nu, tru. For consonants he would have C be never used but for Ch, as it was among the old English, and K in all other words; for Th he would have the Saxon letter *Thorne*, which was a D with a dash through the head, or þ; for I consonant the Saxon ȝ, as ȝet, not Jeat, for Ieat-stone, ȝay for jay; Q, if he were King of the A, B, C, should be put to the horn and banished, and Ku in his place, as *Kuik* not quick, *Kuarel* not Quarel; Z he would have used for the softer S, or eth, or es, as *dîz* for dieth, *lîz* for lies, and the same S inverted for *sh*, as *Sal* for *shall*, *fles* for *flesh*. Thus briefly I have set you down his device, which albeit Sound and Reason seemed to countenance, yet that Tyrant Custom hath so confronted that it will never be admitted.

28. FOOTBALL AND STARCHED RUFFS [1583]

SOURCE: Stubbes, *Anatomy of Abuses*, from the edition by Turnbull in 1836.

(1) *Football.*

As concerning football playing, I protest unto you it may rather be called a friendly kinde of fight than a play or recreation; a bloody and murthering practise, than a felowly sporte or pastime. For dooth not every one lye in waight for his adversarie, seeking to overthrowe him, and to picke[2] him on his nose, though it be uppon hard

[1] It is interesting to notice how the pronunciation of "buy" has changed.
[2] Pitch.

stones? in ditch or dale, in valley or hil, or what place soever it be, hee careth not, so he have him down. And he that can serve the most of this fashion, he is counted the only felow; and who but he? So that by this means, sometimes their necks are broken, sometimes their backs, sometime their legs, sometime their armes; sometime one part thrust out of joynt, sometime another; sometime the noses gush out with blood, sometime their eyes start out, and sometimes hurt in one place, sometimes in another. But whosoever scapeth away the best, goeth not scot free, but is either sore wounded, craised, and bruseed, so as he dyeth of it, or else scapeth very hardly. And no mervaile, for they have the sleights to meet one betwixt two, to dasheh im against the hart with their elbowes, to hit him under the short ribbes with their griped fists, and with their knees to catch him upon the hip, and to pick him on his neck, with a hundred such murdering devices; and hereof groweth envy, malice, rancour, choler, hatred, displeasure, enmitie, and what not els: and sometimes fighting, brawling, contention, quarrel-picking, murther, homicide, and great effusion of blood, as experience daly teacheth.

Is this murthering play, now, an exercise for the Sabath day? is this a Christian dealing, for one brother to mayme and hurt another, and that upon prepensed malice or set purpose? is this to do to another as we would wish another to doo to us? God make us more careful over the bodyes of our brethren!

(2) *Starched Ruffs.*

Theod. I have heard it said that they vse great ruffes in Dnalgne [England], do they continue them still as they were woont to doe, or not?

Amphil. There is no amendment in anything that I can see, neither in one thing nor in other, but every day

woorser and woorser, for they not only continue their great ruffes still, but also vse them bigger than ever they did. And whereas before they were too bad, now they are past al shame and honestie, yea most abominable and detestable, and such as the diuell himselfe would be ashamed to weare the like. And if it be true, as I heare say, they haue their starching houses made of purpose, to that vse and end only, the better to trimme and dresse their ruffes to pleese the diuels eies withall.

Theod. Haue they starching houses of purpose made to starch in? Now truly that passes of all that ever I heard. And do they nothing in those houses but onelie starch bands and ruffes?

Amphil. No, nothing else, for to that end only were they erected, and therefore now are consecrate to Belzebub and Cerberus archdiuels of great ruffes.

Theod. Haue they not also houses to set their ruffes in, to trim them, and to trick them, as well as to starch them in?

Amphil. Yea marry haue they, for either the same starching houses . . . do serue the turn, or else they haue their other chambers and secret closets to the same vse, wherein they tricke up these cart wheeles of the diuels charet of pride, leading the direct way to the dungeon of hell.

Theod. What tooles and instruments haue they to set their ruffes withall: For I am persuaded they cannot set them artificially inough without some kind of tooles?

Amphil. Very true: and doe you thinke that they want anything that might set forth their diuelrie to the world? In faith sir, no, then the diuell were to blame if he should serue his clients so, that maintaine his kingdome of pride with such diligence as they doe. And therefore I would you wist it, they haue their tooles and instruments for the purpose.

Theod. Whereof be they mayde I pray you, or howe?

Amphil. They be made of yron and steel, and some

of brasse, kept as bright as silver, yea and some of silver it selfe, and it is well, if in processe of time they grow not to be gold. The fashion whereafter they be made, I cannot resemble to anything so well as to a squirt, or a squibbe, which little children vsed to squirt out water withall: and when they come to starching, and setting of their ruffes, then must this instrument be heated in the fire, the better to stiffen the ruffe. For you know heate will drie, and stiffen anything. And if you woulde know the name of this goodly toole, forsooth the deuill hath given it to name a putter, or else a putting sticke, as I heare say. They haue also another instrument called a setting stick, either of wood or bone, and sometimes of gold and silver, make forked wise at both ends, and with this (*Si diis placet*) they set their ruffes. But because this cursed fruit is not yet grown to his full perfection of ripenesse, I will therefore at this time say not more of it, vntil I here more.

29. THE COLONISATION OF NEWFOUNDLAND [1583]

SOURCE: Hakluyt, *Voyages.*

Written by Mr Edward Haie, gentleman and principall actour in the same voyage, who alone continued unto the end, and by God's speciall assistance returned home with his retinue safe and entire.

We began our voyage upon Tuesday the eleventh day of June in the year of our Lord 1583, having in our fleet (at our departure from Causet Bay [1]) these ships as followeth: (The *Delight*; the Barke *Raleigh*, "set forth by Mr Walter Raleigh"; the *Golden Hinde*; the *Swallow*; and the *Squirrel.*)

We were in number in all about 260 men: among whom we had of every faculty good choice, as ship-wrights, masons, carpenters, smiths, and such like requisite to such an action:

[1] "Neere unto Plymouth." (Spelled also "Causon.")

also mineral men and refiners. Besides, for solace of our people, and allurement of the savages, we were provided of music in good variety: not omitting the least toys, as Morris dancers, hobby horses, and May-like conceits to delight the savage people, whom we intended to win by all fair means possible. And to that end we were indifferently furnished of all petty haberdashery wares to barter with those simple people. . . .

Saturday the 27 of July, we might descry not far from us, as it were mountains of ice driven upon the sea, being then in 50 degrees, which were carried southward to the weather of us.

Before we come to Newfoundland, about 50 leagues on this side, we pass the bank, which are high grounds rising within the sea and under water, yet deep enough and without danger. . . . The breadth of this bank is somewhere more, and somewhere less. The Portugals and French chiefly have a notable trade of fishing upon the bank, where are sometimes 100 or more sails of ships, who commonly begin the fishing in April, and have ended by July. . . .

(Aug. 3—Saturday.) Trending this coast we came to the island called Baccalaos, being not past two leagues from the main. . . .

Monday following [August 5], the general[1] had his tent set up, who being accompanied with his own followers, summoned the merchants and masters, both English and strangers, to be present at his taking possession of those countries. Before whom openly was read and interpreted unto the strangers his commission: by virtue whereof he took possession in the same harbour of St John, and 200 leagues every way; invested the queen's majesty with the title and dignity thereof; had delivered unto him (after the custom of England) a rod and a turf of the same soil, entering possession also for him and his heirs and assigns for ever:

[1] Sir Humphrey Gilbert.

And signified unto all men that from that time forward, they should take the same land as territory appertaining to the Queen of England. . . . At the same time, for a beginning, he proposed and delivered three laws to be in force immediately. . . .

The first, for religion, which in public exercise should be according to the Church of England. The second, for maintenance of her majesty's right and possession of those territories, against which if anything were attempted prejudicial, the party or parties offending should be adjudged and exectuted as in case of high treason, according to the laws of England. The third, if any person should utter words sounding to the dishonour of her majesty, he should lose his ears, and have his ship and goods confiscate. . . . After this the assembly was dismissed. And afterward were erected not far from that place the arms of England engraven in lead, and infixed upon a pillar of wood. Yet further and actually to establish this possession taken in right of her majesty, and to the behoof of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Knight, his heirs, and assigns for ever, the general granted in fee farm divers parcels of land lying by the water side, both in this harbour of St John, and elsewhere.

[*The expedition having met with storm and discomfort in their further sailings and investigation, and their supply of food growing scanty,*]

Upon Saturday in the afternoon the 31st of August we changed our course, and returned back for England.

30. ENGLISH TACTICS AGAINST THE ARMADA [1588]

SOURCE: Sir Walter Raleigh, *History of the World.* Ed. 1676.

Certainly, he that will happily perform a fight at sea, must be skilful in making choice of vessels to fight in; he must believe that there is more belonging to a good man-of-war upon the waters than great daring; and must

know that there is a great deal of difference between fighting loose or at large, and grappling. The guns of a slow ship pierce as well, and make as great holes, as those in a swift. To clap ships together without consideration belongs rather to a madman than to a man of war; for by such an ignorant bravery was Peter Strossie lost at the Azores, when he fought against the Marquis of Santa Cruz. In like sort had the Lord Charles Howard, Admiral of England, been lost in the year 1588, if he had not been better advised than a great many malignant fools were, that found fault with his demeanour. The Spaniards had an army aboard them, and he had none; they had more ships than he had, and of higher building and charging; so that, had he entangled himself with those great and powerful vessels, he had greatly endangered this kingdom of England. For twenty men upon the defences are equal to an hundred that board and enter; whereas then, contrariwise, the Spaniards had an hundred for twenty of ours, to defend themselves withal.

But our admiral knew his advantage, and held it; which had he not done, he had not been worthy to have held his head. Here to speak in general of sea-fight (for particulars are fitter for private hands than for the press) I say, that a fleet of twenty ships, all good sailers and good ships, have the advantage, on the open sea, of an hundred as good ships and of slower sailing.

31. DOMESTIC EXPENSES IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY [1589]

SOURCE: *The Darrell Papers*, as quoted in Hall's *Society in the Elizabethan Age.*

[*Note.*—These prices should be multiplied by at least seven to give an approximate comparison with present-day prices.]

(1) *Travelling Expenses and Carriage.*

Charges to London [from Littlecote, Wiltshire] for three, 5s. 4d. Charges there in dressing trouts, 2s. 8d. Boat

to Barne Elmes and back, 2s. 8d. Charges from London for two, 2s. 8d. Mending a saddle at London, 4d. . . . Carriage of garden-tools from London, 2s. . . . A messenger for Mr Webb to go to London, 6d. . . . J. Horseman when he sought Mr Stubbs' mare, 4s. . . . Our charges at Wallingford when we did fetch the mare, 18d. Our horsemeat there, 12d. Mr Molyns for keeping the mare and colt, 13s. 4d. R. Phillips seeking for the mare, 15d. T. Lazenby to London and home, 9s. 4d.

(2) *Wages of Farm Labourers at Littlecote.*

Osmond, 2 days' work, 6d., and 4 days' work, 16d. Osmond, for hedging and felling the coppice, 38s., Walter Eyres, Parker and Edney for helping with the Rick, 9d. . . . A Thatcher for 5 days' work, 2s. . . . A woman "yelming" [1] 10 days, 20d. Mowing the Wearmead, 17s. 6d. Sandes, 3 days' threshing, 9d.

(3) *Miscellaneous.*

Garden seeds, 3s. 3d. Rosemary seeds, 10d. Rosemary, 6d. Strawberries, 9d. Brand-iron, 20d. 2 bottles of vinegar, 8d. Pair of hose and shoes for Anthony Swayte, 2s. 4d. Two pheasant-nets, 15d.

(4) *Wages of Skilled Labourers at Littlecote.*

Lionel Pearce, for making 15 dozen hurdles, 12s. 6d. The Taskers at Littlecote . . . for threshing 37 quarters [of wheat], 18s. 6d. Dressing a mangy mare and a colt, 2s. 10d. Setting 3 horse-shoes, 9d. The rat-catcher, 2s. 6d. J. Mitchell and Harry Cook for fishing, 16d.

(5) *Washing* (3 months).

5 shirts, handkerchiefs, night kerchiefs, and socks, 18d. Anthony's clothes, 12d. 6 shirts, 18 handkerchiefs, and a waiscoat, 2s. 6 shirts, handkerchiefs, night kerchiefs, socks

[1] Arranging straw for thatching.

and collars, 20d. 5 shirts, 8 handkerchiefs, a night kerchief, a collar and socks, 20d. Antony's clothes, 10d. 4 shirts, 12d. 4 shirts, 6 handkerchiefs, socks and night kerchiefs, 14d. 3 shirts, 4 handkerchiefs, and socks, 10d. 3 shirts, 5 handkerchiefs, 10d. 2 shirts, 4 handkerchiefs, 1 pair socks, and 5 sheets, 13d. 6 shirts, 6 handkerchiefs, and 1 pair socks, 19d. 4 shirts, 5 handkerchiefs, and 1 pair socks, 13d. 1 tablecloth, and 14 napkins, 14d. *Total*, £0, 17s. 5d.

(6) *Dress.*

Mending Anthony's shoes, 6d. Pair of shoes for him and mending his hose, 20d. Mr More for a pair of gloves when he went to Ratcliff, 18d. Twelve Badges (besides 16s. which his Worship paid), 20s. Pair of shoes for his Worship, 2s. 9d. 4 shirts, 6 bands, 6 pair cuffs (besides 6s. which his Worship paid), £4.

6¾ yds. murry satin, at 12s., £4. 1s. (whereof Cornelius, the tailor, paid 41s., namely, of Mrs Biggs, 20s., and this accountant, 20s.). . . . 4¼ ells murry taffeta sarsnet to line a doublet and canions, 15s. . . . Three dozen of buttons, 12d. Silk to make button holes, 6d. A canopy embroidered with a train of changeable taffeta, £8. Cornelius the tailor in his bill, 30s. His man Humphrey, 12d. 3½ yards of black satin at 12s. 6d. . . . Pair of shoes, 2s. 6d. Raising a pair of shoes, 1d. . . . Mending a pair of shoes, 5d.

(7) *Furniture and Household Stuff.*

His worship when he bought table-boards, £4. Two glass bottles, 2s. . . . Two chairs covered with grene, 22s. . . . Three dozen of trenchers, 15d. Long table cloths, 5s. Percy which he paid for cloth for a pair of sheets; two diaper cloths; 3 table napkins, etc., 40s. Three brooms, 2d. Sope, 3d. Nails for the carpenter, 4d. Taps, 1d.

. . . Hazelden for the curtains of Wedmoll lace, rings, curtain rods, and making, 18s. 1 lb. of candles, 4d. A dozen of Pewter trencher plates, 5s. 6 spoons, 5d. An earthern salt pot, 2d. Salt, 3d. Sand to scour the pewter, 1d. Hazelden for mats and matting the great chamber and middle chamber, 4s. 6d. Looking glass, 5s. The carpenter for sawing the end of a form, 2d.

(8) *Sundries.*

¼ oz. of tobacco, 10d. . . . Four tobacco pipes, 2s. Ink and a glass, 2d. The Apothecary upon his bill, 8s. Gardening stuff for Cornelius the gardener, 23s. 3d. Quire of Paper, 2d. Sweetmeats at Mistress West's, 21s. 2½ oz. dates, 5d. . . . Percy which he paid for a book, 6d. Paper and parchment, 8d. A basket, 2s. 6d.

(9) *Hotel Bill.*

Friday dyner Juny 20.

Butter	iiijd.
A pece of bief	xiiijd.
A legg of mutton	xviijd.
A loyne of veale	xxijd.
2 peckes of pescodes	viij.
3 rabbettes	ijs.
A quart of creame	vjd.
3 quarts of strawberries	xvjd.
2 li. of cheries	xxd.
Di : li. of muske confectes . . .	xd.
Di : li. of violett confectes . . .	xjd.
Orenges	iijd.
2 Lemans	vjd.
Bred	viijd.
Beare	ixd.
	0·14·11

(10) *Wild Darrel's Fare in London* (1589).

[Darrel had bachelor apartments in a house in Warwick Lane, near Ludgate Hill, and kept a sumptuous table for himself and his friends.]

Wednesday dyner Maij 14.

A pece of bief	xviijd.
2 playses	xijd.
Conger	viijd.
Cockles	iiijd.
Mackerell	viijd.
A pound of butter	iiijd.
A pynt of white wyne & lemon & sugar .	vjd.
2 chickens	xvjd.
For rostinge ye chickens & dressing ye fishe	xijd.
	0·7·4

Supper eodem.

Colde bief	xiiijd.
A shoulder of mutton	xviijd.
2 chickens	xiiijd.
Butter	ijd.
For dressinge ye mutton & chickens & sops and sawce	xjd.
	0·4·11

32. LONDON APPRENTICES [*circa* 1600]

SOURCE: Stow, *Survey of London*. Ed. Strype. Vol. II.

The ancient habit of the apprentices of London was a flat round cap, hair close cut, narrow falling bands, coarse

side coats, close hose, cloth stockings, and other such severe apparel. When this garb had been urged by some to the disparagement of apprentices, as a token of servitude, one, many a year ago, undertaking the defence of these apprentices, wrote thus, that this imported the commendable thrift of the citizens, and was only the mark of an apprentice's vocation and calling (and which anciently, no question, was the ordinary habit of a citizen), which point of ancient discipline, he said, the grave common lawyers do still retain in their profession; for the professors of that learning, we see, do at this present retain the parti-coloured coats of serving-men at their serjeants feasts; and he wished, that the remembrance of this ancient livery might be preserved by the grave citizens, in setting apart a particular time or day for the feast of their apprenticeship, when they should wear their former apprentice's garb; making profession in this way, that they gloried in the ensigns of their honest apprenticeship.

In the time of Queen Mary, the beginning of Queen Elizabeth, as well as many years before, all apprentices wore blue cloaks in the summer, and blue gowns in the winter. But it was not lawful for any man, either servant or other, to wear their gowns lower than the calves of their legs, except they were above threescore years of age; but, the length of the cloaks being not limited, they made them down to their shoes. Their breeches and stockings were usually of white broad cloath, viz. round slops, and their stockings sewed up close thereto, as if they were all but one piece. They also wore flat caps both then and many years after, as well apprentices as journeymen and others, both at home and abroad; whom the pages of the court in derision called flat-caps.

When apprentices and journeymen attended upon their masters and mistresses in the night they went before them carrying a lanthorn and candle in their hands and a great

long club on their necks; and many well-grown sturdy apprentices used to wear long daggers in the day time on their backs or sides.

Anciently it was the general use and custom of all apprentices in London (mercers only excepted, being commonly merchants, and of better rank, as it seems) to carry water tankards, to serve their masters' houses with water, fetched either from the Thames, or the common conduits of London.

It was a great matter in former times to give £10 to bind a youth apprentice; but in King James the First's time, they gave £20, £40, £60 and sometimes £100 with an apprentice; but now these prices are vastly enhanced, to £500, £600, or £800.

33. THE EXCELLENCY OF THE ENGLISH TONGUE [*circa* 1600]

SOURCE: The treatise by Richard Carew (*b.* 1555, *d.* 1620), included in Camden's *Remains concerning Britain.*

I come now to the last and sweetest point of the sweetness of our tongue, which shall appear the more plainly, if . . . we match it with our neighbours. The Italian is pleasant but without sinews, as a still fleeting water. The French, delicate, but even nice as a woman, scarce daring to open her lips for fear of marring her countenance. The Spanish, majestical, but fulsome, running too much on the O, and terrible like the devil in a play. The Dutch, manlike, but withal very harsh, as one ready at every word to pick a quarrel. Now we, in borrowing from them, give the strength of consonants to the Italian, the full sound of words to the French, the variety of terminations to the Spanish, and the mollifying of more vowels to the Dutch, and so (like Bees) gather the honey of their good properties and leave the dregs to themselves.

And thus when substantialness combineth with delightfulness, fulness with fineness, seemliness with portliness, and currantness with stayedness, how can the language which consisteth of all these sound other than most full of sweetness?

Again, the long words that we borrow, being intermingled with the short of our own store, make up a perfect harmony; by culling from out which mixture (with judgment) you may frame your speech according to the matter you must work on, majestical, pleasant, delicate, or manly, more or less, in what sort you please. Add hereunto, that whatsoever grace any other language carrieth in verse or prose, in Tropes or Metaphors, in Ecchoes and Agnominations, they may all be lively and exactly represented in ours. Will you have Plato's vein? read Sir Tho. Smith; the Ionick? Sir Thomas Moor; Cicero's? Ascham; Varro? Chaucer; Demosthenes? Sir John Cheek (who, in his treatise to the Rebels, hath comprised all the figures of Rhetorick.) Will you read Virgil? take the Earl of Surrey; Catullus? Shakesphear and Barlow's fragment; Ovid? Daniel; Lucan? Spencer; Martial? Sir John Davies, and others. Will you have all in all for prose and verse? take the miracle of our age, Sir Philip Sydney.

And thus, if mine own eyes be not blinded by affection, I have made yours to see that the most renowned of other Nations have layed up, as in treasure, and entrusted the *Divisos orbe Britannos* with the rarest jewels of their lips perfections, whether you respect the understanding for significancy, or the memory for easiness, or the conceit for plentifulness, or the ear for pleasantness: wherein if enough be delivered, to adde more than enough were superfluous; if too little, I leave it to be supplyed by better stored capacities; if ought amiss, I submit the same to the discipline of every able and impartial censurer.

34. THE LAST FIGHT OF THE *REVENGE* [1591]

SOURCE: Sir Walter Ralegh, *A Report of the Truth of the Fight about the Isles of Azores, 1591, betwixt the "Revenge" and an Armada of the King of Spain.* Pinkerton's *Voyages*, 1808.

The Lord Thomas Howard with six of her majesty's ships, six victuallers of London, the bark *Ralegh* and two or three pinnaces riding at anchor near unto Flores, one of the westerly islands of the Azores, the last of August in the afternoon, had intelligence by one Captain Middleton of the approach of the Spanish Armada. Which Middleton, being a very good sailor, had kept them company three days before, of good purpose, both to discover their forces the more as also to give advice to my Lord Thomas of their approach. He had no sooner delivered the news but the fleet was in sight: many of our ships' companies were on shore in the island; some providing ballast for their ships; others filling of water and refreshing themselves from the land with such things as they could either for money or by force recover. By reason whereof, our ships being all pestered and romaging, everything [was] out of order [and] very light for want of ballast, and that which was most to our disadvantage, the one half part of the men of every ship sick and utterly unserviceable. For in the *Revenge*, there were ninety diseased: in the *Bonaventure*, not so many in health as could handle her main sail. . . . The Spanish fleet, having shrouded their approach by reason of the island, were now so soon at hand, as our ships had scarce time to weigh their anchors, but some of them were driven to let slip their cables and set sail. Sir Richard Grenville [in the *Revenge*] was the last weighed, to recover the men that were upon the island, which otherwise had been lost. The Lord Thomas with the rest very hardly recovered the wind, which Sir Richard Grenville not being able to do, was persuaded

by the master and others to cut his main sail, and cast about and to trust to the sailing of his ship; for the squadron of Seville were on his weather bow. But Sir Richard utterly refused to turn from the enemy, alleging that he would rather choose to die, than dishonour himself, his country, and her majesty's ship, persuading his company that he would pass through the two squadrons, in despite of them: and enforce those of Seville to give him way. Which he performed upon divers of the foremost, who, as the mariners term it, sprang their luff and fell under the lee of the *Revenge*. . . . In the meanwhile as he attended those which were nearest him, the great *San Philip* being in the wind of him, and coming toward him, becalmed his sails in such sort, as the ship could neither make way nor feel the helm: so huge and high charged was the Spanish ship, being of a thousand and five hundred tons, who afterlaid the *Revenge* aboard. . . . The said *Philip* carried three tier of ordnance on a side, and eleven pieces in every tier. She shot eight forth right out of her chase, besides those of her stern ports.

After the *Revenge* was entangled with this *Philip*, four other boarded her; two on her larboard, and two on her starboard. The fight thus beginning at three of the clock in the afternoon, continued very terrible all that evening. But the great *San Philip* having received the lower tier of the *Revenge*, discharged with crossbar-shot, shifted herself with all diligence from her sides, utterly misliking her first entertainment. Some say that the ship foundered, but we cannot report it for truth, unless we were assured. The Spanish ships were filled with companies of soldiers, in some two hundred besides the mariners, in some five, in others eight hundred. In ours there were none at all, besides the mariners, but the servants of the commanders and some few voluntary gentlemen only. After many interchanged volleys of great ordnance and small shot, the Spaniards deliberated to enter the

Revenge and made divers attempts, hoping to force her by the multitudes of their armed soldiers and musketeers, but were still repulsed again and again, and at all times beaten back into their own ships, or into the sea. . . . After the fight had thus without intermission continued while the day lasted and some hours of the night, many of our men were slain and hurt, and one of the great galleons of the armada and the *Admiral of the Hulks* both sunk, and in many other of the Spanish ships great slaughter was made. Some write that Sir Richard was very dangerously hurt almost in the beginning of the fight, and lay speechless for a time ere he recovered. But two of the *Revenge's* own company, brought home in a ship of Lima from the islands, examined by some of the Lords and others, affirmed that he was never so wounded as that he forsook the upper deck, till an hour before midnight; and then being shot into the body with a musket as he was a-dressing, was again shot into the head; and withal his chirugeon wounded to death. . . . But to return to the fight, the Spanish ships which attempted to board the *Revenge*, as they were wounded and beaten off, so always others came in their places, she having never less than two mighty galleons by her sides and aboard her. So that ere the morning, from three of the clock the day before, there had fifteen several armados assailed her; and all so ill approved their entertainment, as they were by the break of day, far more willing to hearken to a composition, than hastily to make any more assaults or entries. But as the day increased, so our men decreased: and as the light grew more and more, by so much more grew the discomforts. . . .

All the powder of the *Revenge* to the last barrel was now spent, all her pikes broken, forty of her best men slain, and the most part of the rest hurt. In the beginning of the fight she had but one hundred free from sickness, and fourscore and ten sick, laid in hold upon the ballast:

a small troop to man such a ship, and a weak garrison to resist so mighty an army. By those hundred all was sustained, the volleys, boardings and enterings of fifteen ships of war besides those which beat her at large. On the contrary, the Spanish were always supplied with soldiers brought from every squadron: all manner of arms and powder at will. Unto ours there remained no comfort at all, no hope, no supply either of ships, men or weapons; the masts all beaten overboard, all her tackle cut asunder, her upperwork altogether razed, and in effect evened she was with the water, but the very foundation or bottom of the ship, nothing being left overhead either for flight or defence. Sir Richard finding himself in this distress and unable any longer to make resistance . . . and that himself and the ship must needs be possessed by the enemy, who were now all cast in a ring round about him . . . commanded the master gunner, whom he knew to be a most resolute man, to split and sink the ship; that thereby nothing might remain of glory or victory to the Spaniards. . . . And persuaded the company, or as many as he could induce, to yield themselves unto God, and to the mercy of none else. . . . The master gunner readily condescended and divers others; but the captain and the master were of another opinion, and besought Sir Richard to have care of them: alleging that the Spaniard would be ready to entertain a composition, as they were willing to offer the same: and that there being divers sufficient and valiant men yet living, and whose wounds were not mortal, they might do their country and prince acceptable service hereafter. And (that where Sir Richard had alleged that the Spaniards should never glory to have taken one ship of her majesty's, seeing that they had so long and so notably defended themselves) they answered, that the ship had six foot water in the hold, three shots under water, which were so weakly stopped, as with the first working of

the sea, she must needs sink, and was besides so crushed and bruised, as she could never be removed out of the place.

And as the matter was thus in dispute, and Sir Richard refusing to hearken to any of these reasons: the master of the *Revenge* . . . was convoyed aboard the *General Don Alfonso Bassen*: who . . . yielded that all their lives should be saved, the company sent for England, and the better sort to pay such reasonable ransom as their estate would bear, and in the mean season to be free from galley or imprisonment. . . .

When this answer was returned, and that safety of life was promised, the common sort being now at the end of their peril, the most drew back from Sir Richard and the master gunner. . . . The master gunner finding himself and Sir Richard thus prevented and mastered by the greater number, would have slain himself with a sword, had he not been by force witheld and locked into his cabin. Then the *General* sent many boats aboard the *Revenge*, and divers of our men fearing Sir Richard's disposition, stole away aboard the *General* and other ships.

Sir Richard, thus overmatched, was sent unto by Alfonso Bassen to remove out of the *Revenge*. . . . Sir Richard answered that he might do with his body what he list, for he esteemed it not, and as he was carried out of the ship he swooned, and reviving again, desired the company to pray for him. The General used Sir Richard with all humanity, and left nothing unattempted that tended to his recovery, highly commending his valour and worthiness. . . . Sir Richard died, as it is said, the second or third day aboard the *General* and was by them greatly bewailed. What became of his body, whether it were buried in the sea or on the land we know not: the comfort that remaineth to his friends is, that he hath ended his life honourably in respect of the reputation won to his nation and country,

and of the same to his posterity, and that being dead, he hath not outlived his own honour.

35. SOLDIER'S PAY [1598]

SOURCE: Fynes Moryson, *Itinerary.* Vol. II.

The establishment was signed by the Queen the four and twenty of March, being the last day (after the English account) of the year 1598. It contained: first the pay of the chief officers in the Army: the Lord Lieutenant General ten pound a day; the Lieutenant of the Army three pound a day; the General of the Horse forty shillings a day; the Marshal of the Camp thirty shillings a day; the Sergeant Major twenty shillings a day; the Lieutenant of the Horse twenty shillings a day; the Quartermaster twenty shillings a day; the Judge Marshal twenty shillings a day; the Auditor General thirteen shillings four pence a day; the Controller General of the victuals ten shillings a day; the Lieutenant of the Ordnance ten shillings a day; the Surveyor six shillings eight pence; two clerks of Munitions each five shillings a day; four Corporals of the field six shillings eight pence a day a piece; one Commissary of victuals eight shillings, and three other, each six shillings a day; the Carriage Master six shillings eight pence a day; and twenty Colonels, each ten shillings a day. . . .

It contained further the pay of thirteen hundred horse, divided into six and twenty bands, each band having a Captain at four shillings a day, a Lieutenant at two shillings six pence a day, a Cornet at two shillings a day, and fifty horsemen each at fifteen pence a day. . . .

It contained further the pay of sixteen thousand footmen, distributed into one hundred and sixty bands, each band having a Captain at four shillings a day, a Lieutenant at two shillings a day, an Ensign eighteen pence a day, two Sergeants, a Drum, and a Surgeon, each at twelve pence

a day, and ninety-four soldiers . . . at eight pence each by the day. . . .

Lastly it contained an extraordinary supply of six thousand pound to be allowed . . . for spies, guides, messengers, boat-hiring, keeping of prisoners, buildings, reparations, rewards, and like charges. . . .

36. SHAKESPEARE AS SEEN BY HIS CONTEMPORARIES [1600]

(a) *De Shakespear Nostrat.*

SOURCE: Ben Jonson, *Timber: or Discoveries made upon Men and Matter.* Ed. Gifford, 1816.

I remember the players have often mentioned it as an honour to Shakespeare, that in his writing, whatsoever he penned, he never blotted out a line. My answer hath been, "Would he had blotted a thousand," which they thought a malevolent speech. I had not told posterity this but for their ignorance, who chose that circumstance to commend their friend by wherein he most faulted; and to justify mine own candour, for I loved the man, and do honour his memory on this side idolatry as much as any. He was indeed honest, and of an open and free nature; had an excellent fancy, brave notions, and gentle expressions, wherein he flowed with that facility that sometime it was necessary he should be stopped. "*Sufflaminandus erat,*" as Augustus said of Haterius. His wit was in his own power; would the rule of it had been so too. Many times he fell into those things, could not escape laughter, or when he said in the person of Cæsar, one speaking to him: "Cæsar, thou dost me wrong." He replied, "Cæsar did never wrong but with just cause"; and such like, which were ridiculous. But he redeemed his vices with his virtues. There was ever more in him to be praised than to be pardoned.

(b) *On the Portrait of Shakespeare.* (Ben Jonson.)

This Figure, that thou here seest put,
It was for gentle Shakespeare cut;
Wherein the Graver had a strife
with Nature, to out-doo the life:
O, could he but have drawne his wit
As well in brasse, as he hath hit
His face; the Print would then surpasse
All, that was ever writ in brasse:
But, since he cannot, Reader, looke
Not on his Picture, but his Booke.

(c) *On Shakespeare.*

SOURCE: Thomas Fuller, *The Worthies of England.*

He was an eminent instance of the truth of that rule, *Poeta non fit, sed nascitur:* "One is not made, but born a poet." Indeed his learning was very little, so that, as Cornish diamonds are not polished by any lapidary, but are pointed and smoothed even as they are taken out of the earth, so nature itself was all the art which was used upon him.

Many were the wit-combats betwixt him and Ben Jonson, which two I behold like a Spanish great gallion, and an English man-of-war: Master Jonson (like the former) was built far higher in learning; solid, but slow, in his performances. Shakespeare, with the English man-of-war, lesser in bulk, but lighter in sailing, could turn with all tides, tack about, and take advantage of all winds, by the quickness of his wit and invention.

37. LONDON SCHOOLS [1601]

SOURCE: Stow, *Survey of London.* Ed. Morley.

As divers schools, by suppressing of religious houses, whereof they were members, in the reign of Henry VIII., have been decayed, so again have some others been newly erected, and furnished for them; as namely *Paul's School,*

in place of an old ruined house, was built in most ample manner, and largely endowed, in the year 1512, by John Colet, Doctor of Divinity, Dean of Paul's, for 153 poor men's children. . . . Again in the year 1553, after the erection of *Christ's Hospital* in the late dissolved house of the Gray Friars, a great number of poor children being taken in, a school was ordained there at the citizens' charges.

Also in the year 1561, the *Merchant Taylors* of London founded one notable free grammar-school in the parish of St Laurence Poultney. . . .

As for the meeting of the schoolmasters on festival days, at festival churches, and the disputing of their scholars logically, etc., the same was long since discontinued; but the arguing of the schoolboys about the principles of grammar hath been continued even till our time; for I myself, in my youth, have yearly seen, on the eve of St Bartholomew the Apostle, the scholars of divers grammar-schools repair unto the churchyard of St Bartholomew, the priory in Smithfield, where upon a bank boarded about under a tree, some one scholar hath stepped up, and there both opposed and answered till he were by some better scholar overcome and put down; and then the overcomer taking the place, did like as the first; and in the end the best opposers and answerers had rewards, which I observed not but it made both good schoolmasters and also good scholars, diligently against such times to prepare themselves for the obtaining of this garland.

I remember there repaired to these exercises amongst others, the masters and scholars of the free schools of St Paul's in London, of St Peter's in Westminster, of St Thomas Acon's Hospital, and of St Anthony's Hospital; whereof the last named commonly presented the best scholars, and had the prize in those days.

This priory of St Bartholomew being surrendered to Henry VIII., those disputations . . . in that place surceased;

Mr. WILLIAM

SHAKESPEARES

COMEDIES,
HISTORIES, &
TRAGEDIES.

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William Shakespeare

The Globe Theatre

and were again, only for a year or twain, in the reign of Edward VI., revived in the cloister of Christ's Hospital, when the best scholars, then still of St Anthony's School, were rewarded with bows and arrows of silver, given to them by Sir Martin Bowes, goldsmith.

Nevertheless, however, the encouragement failed, the scholars of Paul's meeting with them of St Anthony's, would call them "*Anthony pigs*," and they again would call the other, "*Pigeons of Paul's*," because many pigeons were bred in St Paul's church, and St Anthony was always figured with a pig following him; and mindful of the former usage, did for a long season disorderly, in the open street, provoke one another with: "*Salve tu quoque, placet tibi mecum disputare?*" "*Placet.*" And so proceeding from this to questions in grammar, they usually fell from words to blows with their satchels full of books, many times in great heaps, that they troubled the streets and passengers; so that finally they were restrained, until the decay of St Anthony's school.

Out of this school have sprung divers famous persons, whereof although time hath buried the names of many, yet in mine own remembrance may be numbered these following:—

Sir Thomas More, Knight, Lord Chancellor of England; Dr Nicholas Heath, sometime Bishop of Rochester, after of Worcester, and lastly Archbishop of York and Lord Chancellor of England; Doctor John Whitgift, Bishop of Worcester, and after Archbishop of Canterbury.

[*Note.*—To these may be added Bishop Latimer. The site of St Anthony's School was on, or near, the spot where the Bank of England now stands.]

38. REGULATIONS REGARDING STAGE PLAYS [1600]

SOURCE: An Order of the Privy Council, 1600.

An order set down by the Lords and others of Her Majesty's Privy Council, the 22 of June, 1600 to restrain

the excessive number of play-houses and the immoderate use of stage plays in and about the city.

Whereas divers complaints have been heretofore made unto the Lords and others of Her Majesty's Council of the manifold abuses and disorders that have grown and do continue by occasion of many houses erected and employed in and about the city of London for common stage plays; and now very lately by reason of some complaint exhibited by sundry persons against the building of the like house in or near Golding Lane by one Edward Allen, a servant of the right honourable the Lord Admiral, the matter as well in generality touching all the said houses for stage plays and the use of playing as in particular concerning the said house now in hand to be built in or near Golding Lane hath been brought into question and consultation among their Lordships; forasmuch as it is manifestly known and granted that the multitude of the said houses and the misgovernment of them hath been made and is daily occasion of the idle, riotous and dissolute living of great numbers of people, who, leaving all such honest and painful course of life as they should follow, do meet and assemble there; and of many particular abuses and disorders that do thereupon ensue. And yet nevertheless it is considered that the use and exercise of such plays not being evil in itself may with a good order and moderation be suffered in a well governed estate, and that Her Majesty being pleased at some times to take delight and recreation in the sight and hearing of them, some order is fit to be taken for the allowance and maintenance, of such persons as are thought meetest in that kind, to yield Her Majesty recreation and delight. . . . The Lords and the rest of Her Majesty's Privy Council have ordered in manner of form as followeth.

First, that there shall be about the city two houses and no more allowed to serve for the use of the common stage

plays; of the which houses one shall be in Surrey, in that place which is commonly called the Bankside, or thereabouts, and the other in Middlesex. . . .

Secondly, forasmuch as these stage plays by the multitude of houses and company of players have been too frequent, not serving for recreation, but inviting and calling the people daily from their trade and work to misspend their time; it is likewise ordered that the two several companies of players, assigned unto the two houses allowed, may play each of them in their several house twice a week and no oftener; and especially that they shall refrain to play on the sabbath day, upon pain of imprisonment and further penalty; and that they shall forbear altogether in the time of Lent, and likewise at such time and times as any extraordinary sickness or infection of disease shall appear to be in or about the city.

Thirdly . . . it is ordered that several copies [of these orders] shall be sent to the Lord Mayor of London and to the Justices of the Peace of the counties of Middlesex and Surrey, and that letters should be written to them straightly charging them to see the execution of the same by committing to prison the owners of playhouses and players who shall disobey and resist these orders.

39. A TOUR THROUGH ENGLAND [1600]

SOURCE: Fynes Moryson, *Itinerary*. Vol. III.

Only give me leave for the help of strangers to add this one thing, namely, how they being curious to search antiquities, and loth to omit the sight of things worthy of observation, may to this purpose best dispose their journeys, which all other men may fit to their ends and purposes. First let them pass out of Normandy to Rye, an English haven in Sussex, then let them visit such of the five Kentish ports as they please, let them see Canterbury, famous for

the seat of the metropolitian Archbishop; then the Castle of Queenborough, in the island of Sheppey, and the Royal Navy; then let them pass by Rochester (a Bishop's seat), the Royal palace at Greenwich, and Deptford, the Naval storehouse, and not far thence see the broken ribs of the ship wherein Sir Francis Drake compassed the world, and so let them come to London. When they have viewed the monuments of London and Westminster, and seen the King's Court, they may take a cursory journey to view such antiquities in Middlesex, Surrey, and Berkshire, as upon the reading of Camden they shall most desire to see, and especially all, or the chief palaces of the king. Again from London they may take a cursory journey to see the University of Oxford, and so by Worcester return to London. In their journey to the confines of England and Scotland, they may see the University of Cambridge, and view the most choice antiquities mentioned by Master Camden in Hertfordshire, Northamptonshire, Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, Durham, and Northumberland.

NOTES ON SOURCES

Bytharne, Jehan, a Gunner in Ordinary to King Henry VIII., wrote a pamphlet on *The Book of War by Sea and Land,* which was published in 1543. It is reproduced in the *Navy Miscellany,* Vol. I., published by the Navy Records Society.

Camden, William, scholar, antiquary and historian, was born in London in 1551. After being educated at Christ's Hospital, St Paul's, and Oxford, he became Headmaster of Westminster School in 1593. His survey of the British Isles, known as *Britannia,* is his most important work. He died in 1623, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

Carew, Richard (1555–1620), the author of a *Survey of Cornwall.* He wrote the chapter on " The Excellency of the English Tongue " for Camden's *Remains in Britain.*

Cavendish, George, the biographer of Wolsey, was born in the early part of the sixteenth century, and became usher to Cardinal Wolsey about 1526. He attended his master with great fidelity until the death of the latter; after which he returned to Suffolk, and married a niece of Sir Thomas More. He died in 1561.

Darrell, Will, a courtier in Queen Elizabeth's reign, known from his rashness and impetuosity as " Wild Darrell."

Elyot, Sir Thos., born about 1499, became in 1523 Clerk of the King's Council, and eight years later was appointed Ambassador to the Court of Charles V. In that capacity he visited the Low Countries and Germany, having orders to procure the arrest of Tyndale. He became Member for Cambridge in 1542, and died in 1546. His chief work is a treatise in moral philosophy, entitled *The Boke named the Governour.*

Fuller, Thomas (1608–1661), a Royalist divine and antiquary, who served as a chaplain in the Parliamentary army, and died shortly after the Restoration. His great work, *The Worthies of England,* deals with the counties of England and their illustrious sons. Fuller also wrote *The Holy State and the Profane State, The Church History of Britain,* and a *History of Cambridge University.*

Gild's English, by Toulmin Smith, was published in 1871, and contains the original ordinances of more than one hundred Early English Gilds from the original manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The editor died before completion of the work, which was finished by his daughter.

Gammer Gurton's Needle, the earliest university play in English which has come down to us, was played at Christ's College, Cambridge, and published in 1575. It has been traditionally ascribed to John Still, Bishop of Bath and Wells, but upon insufficient evidence.

Hakluyt, Richard, of Dutch descent, was born about 1552 in Herefordshire. After being educated at Westminster and Christ Church, Oxford, he took holy orders and became Lecturer on Cosmography at Oxford. He resided for some years in Paris, and afterwards became Archdeacon of Westminster. His great work, commonly known as Hakluyt's *Voyages*, was published in 1589, and enlarged in 1598–1600; it is a wonderful record of the "Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation." He died in 1616 and is buried in Westminster Abbey.

Harrison, William, (1534–1593), born in London, and studied at Oxford and Cambridge. He became Canon of Windsor in 1586, and wrote his famous *Description of England* for Holinshed's great work.

Holinshed, Raphael (d. *circa* 1580), the author of *Chronicles* which furnished Shakespeare with much of his knowledge of English history. The work as it has come down to us consists of (1) a description of England followed by the history of the country down to the Conquest; (2) a description of Ireland, followed by the chronicles of that island; (3) a description of Scotland, followed by a history of that country down to 1571; (4) the history of the English kings to 1577. Holinshed had the assistance of some of the most learned men of his time, including William Harrison, whose description of England in the sixteenth century is of great interest and importance.

Italian Relation is a sketch of England under Henry VII., and is supposed to be the work of the Secretary of the Venetian Ambassador to Henry's Court. It gives a clear and intelligent account of such English customs and institutions as might be expected by the author to interest his countrymen.

Jonson, Ben (1573–1637), dramatist, Shakespeare's friend and contemporary. He was educated at Westminster School under Camden, and, after many adventures, became famous as the author of many plays and masques. He was the friend of Bacon, Selden, Fletcher, Donne and other writers of the period, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

Laneham, Robert, a London mercer who became Clerk to the Council, and, in 1575 witnessed the visit of Elizabeth to Kenilworth Castle, the residence of her favourite the Earl of Leicester. His description of the revels at Kenilworth is contained in a letter to a brother mercer, and gives a most interesting account of what he saw, together with amusing side-lights on his own life and upbringing, the manners and customs of the times, and the library of Captain Cox. "Laneham is a most amusing, self-satisfied, rollicking chap," and "the merits of his letter is great enough to justify its reproduction." (Dr Furnivall.)

Latimer, Hugh (? 1490–1555), was educated at Cambridge, where he became a Fellow of Clare College. He won fame as a preacher, and having been made Bishop of Worcester in 1535 he devoted his great gifts of oratory to further the Reformation. Twice during the reign of Henry VIII. he was sent to the Tower. On the accession of Edward VI. he resumed his preaching and practical works of benevolence. Under Mary he was found guilty of heresy, and burned at the stake in 1555, along with Bishop Ridley.

Melvil, Sir James of Hallhill (1535–1617), went to France as a page to the young Queen Mary (who afterwards became Queen of Scots), and subsequently undertook missions to the courts of England and the Palatinate. His memoirs are full of interest owing to his intimate association with many of the leading characters of his time.

Moryson, Fynes (1566–1617), after becoming Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge, travelled widely over Europe and the Levant, and published his observations and experiences in his valuable *Itinerary*.

Nicke, Bishop (or Nix), was Bishop of Norwich from 1501 to 1535, and belonged to the old Catholic party, opposing Henry VIII.'s divorce and the Reformer's doctrines.

Perlin, Stephen, was a French physician who visited England at the end of the reign of Edward VI. His amusing and quaint account of English life, and some of the important events that he witnessed during his visit, are contained in his *Description of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland*, which was published in Paris in 1558.

Smith, Sir Thomas (1513–1577), statesman and scholar. His *De Republica Anglorum* gives an authoritative account of the Tudor constitution.

Stow, John, (1525–1605), a London tailor, who forsook tailoring for antiquarian research and historical study. He wrote a *Summary of the Chronicles of England*, *Annals of England*, and *A Survey of London*, and assisted Holinshed in his great historical work. He died in great poverty after James I. had given him a patent authorising him to beg.

Stubbes, Philip, a Puritan pamphleteer and author of *The Anatomie of Abuses,* which was published in 1583 as a vehement denunciation of the luxury of the times.

Tusser, Thomas, was born of good family about 1523 ; he was educated at Eton and Cambridge and began life under the patronage of Lord Paget. Afterwards he took to farming, but his life was varied and restless ; he was successively a farmer, a choir-man in Norwich Cathedral, a Cambridge College servant, and at his death in 1580 was the owner of a small estate near Cambridge. *A Hundreth good points of husbandrie* (1557) gave in simple verse a series of practical directions for farming. The book was later enlarged to *Five Hundreth pointes of good Husbandry.*

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